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THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE QUARTERLIES ON THE STATE CHURCH.

A significant and cheering indication of the position which the State Church question has reached is afforded by the constancy with which the subject is discussed by the leaders of opinion, and the spirit in which it is approached even by those who have least sympathy with our aims. The time has not yet come, indeed, for the *Times* to give it that position which it reserves for what it considers "practical" questions, but the journals which aspire to a more independent and philosophical character, and claim to have a share in the formation of the public judgment, and not merely to follow in its wake, and register, with a great show of authority, the conclusions it has already reached are in a different position. They have to deal not only with the subjects of the hour, but with those that are pressing on for discussion and settlement, and such it is clear they feel the continuance of our National Establishment to be. Hence we have articles bearing more or less directly on the point in our four leading quarterlies. The *British* and the *Westminster* discuss primarily the position and relations of the parties within the Establishment, with a very distinct reference, however, to their common relations to the nation and the Church which it has by law established. But the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* deal directly with the points at issue between the Church and the Nonconformists, and treat them in a spirit of which we have no reason to complain, while differing *toto cœlo* from the principles laid down and the conclusions reached. To a large extent these two organs of our historic parties are in agreement. They are, of course, strongly opposed to a sweeping ecclesiastical revolution just as they have ever been, the Whig, no less than its Tory rival, to every popular movement based on the ground of principle, and in harmony with those tendencies to the establishment of equality, both political and religious, which are so strong in this age, and are quite as distasteful to some who desire to be thought Liberals as to their Conservative opponents. Both take Mr. Arnold's "St. Paul and Protestantism" as their text book, and work out an argument on the lines which he has laid down, but, at the same time, it is only fair to say that both treat Nonconformists with more respect than he is accustomed to show them, and point out some of the defects in his argument. We are especially indebted to the *Edinburgh* for its candid exposure of the gross perversion of the early history of Puritanism, by which Mr. Arnold endeavoured to strengthen his case against it, and the new illustration of the old fable of the wolf and the lamb, which was afforded by his picture of the relations between the Church and the Nonconformists.

We think that in their survey of the past relations between Dissenters and the Establishment, Mr. Arnold's critics have got the better of him. He would persuade us that throughout the conflict of parties there has been always on the whole a large, free, and lofty spirit on the side of the Church, in marked contrast with the narrowness of the dissidents. But we cannot so read history. It is true, doubtless, that at any given period, had the position of the two parties been reversed, the oppressed party would probably have shown themselves the more intolerant oppressors. But assuredly a reasonable and generous spirit of concession at the Hampton Court or the Savoy Conference, would have won over the mass of malcontents, whose more violent demands were only drawn out by the crafty policy of uncompromising opponents. Room might easily have been made for them in the National communion; and the guilt of the disruption which eventually ensued, lies chiefly at the door of those who refused to concede it. We are far, therefore, from pressing a charge of schism against the existing sects of Nonconformists; and greatly as we deplore their existence, we readily and even gladly confess that they have done much and may do much yet, to correct the evils of the National Church.

We receive with satisfaction such a testimony coming from a writer who is neither indisposed to undervalue Mr. Arnold's services to the Church, nor to think lightly of the evils which, in his judgment, have accrued from Dissent. He accepts, indeed, to an extent, at which we certainly are surprised, Mr. Arnold's ideas as to the state of feeling among the Nonconformists of to-day as though they were those of an impartial observer who has seen much of the inner life of Dissent, going among its members "*with no hereditary prejudice certainly, and with no predilections of his own for the exclusive pretensions of the Established Church.*" Perhaps the fact confessed by the reviewer, that his view of history is one-sided, would suggest that he could hardly be so entirely unprejudiced in the formation of his judgment of contemporary Dissenters as to answer the description here given of him: "a witness, as impartial as he is competent, of the spirit which pervades the policy." The recognition of his error in respect to the past certainly does much to destroy the authority claimed for him in relation to the present. Be this as it may, we are glad to have from such a quarter a repudiation of the shamefully unfair representation of the rise of Nonconformity as given by Mr. Arnold. Puritans and Nonconformists were not without their faults, but to give the Churchmen of those times the credit of a wiser and more generous liberality, and that their "persistence in pressing for conformity arose, "not as the political historians would have it, from the lust of haughty ecclesiastics for dominion and for imposing their law on the vanquished, but from a real sense that their formularies were made so large and open, and the sense put upon subscription to them was so indulgent, that any reasonable man could conform, and that it was perverseness and determination to impose their special ideas on the Church, and to narrow the Church's latitude which made the Puritans stand out," is to convert history into a kaleidoscope which reflects any kind of picture according to the way in which it is held or the light in which it is placed.

The *Quarterly* has another fault to find with Mr. Arnold, which we regard as a far more serious disqualification than any dislike he may cherish to Puritanism, for the formation of a sound judgment on the comparative merits of Established and Free Churches. As a rule it may be laid down that the less a man has of religious enthusiasm the more he will distrust the action of Christian willinghood and the more desirous will he be that strong spiritual impulses should be kept in check by the restraints that are sure to have a place in a dignified historic and national church. When, then, we are told that "Mr. Arnold's interpretation of St. Paul, if it is the true and the adequate one, makes a clean sweep of a good deal more than Puritan divinity and tradition," and that he has overlooked "the inextricable connection with even the moral side of Christianity of real outward facts of history which, if they fall, must bring down Christianity with it," we feel that he is anything but a safe counsellor as to the best modes for developing the real force of Christianity. Mr. Arnold "does not seem to want for himself, or further to care to see in St. Paul, any great stress laid on the historical fact of our Lord's resurrection," and the reviewer, after setting forth in a few pointed sentences the unspeakable significance of that fact, adds, "The great alternative which the question about it offers ought never to be absent from the mind of any one who speaks of Christianity. If it cannot be, then Christianity cannot be; and then it is waste of time to write about Churches and sects, and to compare their merits." In this we heartily agree, but it being so, our surprise is great that such importance should be attached to Mr. Arnold's defence of the Establishment. That they will not meet any deference from Dissenter must be evident. Dissenters are concerned for principles which Mr. Arnold either denies or ignores. Their notions of the religious life are radically different, and while they would be the first to confess that in some instances he has pointed out defects which they are bound to remedy, which, in fact, they have long mourned and sought to remedy, his ideal is not theirs, and his arguments fall powerless upon them. Nor is it only Dissenters who feel this. There are numbers of earnest Churchmen who would infinitely prefer a free Church to an Establishment fashioned to Mr. Arnold's model, and we rather suspect that even the *Quarterly* reviewer, while using his arguments, is not very far from this opinion.

The reasoning, however, in favour of the Establishment in both reviews is based upon Mr. Arnold's assertion of the superiority of "historic churches." The question is thus stated by the *Quarterly*:—

It is not whether the sects or the Church represent what is true and right in religion. It is not whether, if absolute truth is unattainable, which of them, more truly or more probably than the other, represents the teaching, the spirit, and the polity of a Christian body, or its primitive and purest character. It is not whether the Nonconformist societies, great or small, may claim whatever anybody of free Englishmen may claim for the prosecution of good and honest aims, and for the protection of their consciences and liberty of action. It is, whether, in the name of liberty or general advantage, they are entitled to claim that other men shall not have something which they have not, and in the nature of things cannot have. It is whether their desire for equality, which is a natural desire, and their impatience of privilege to which the recent course of events has given a spur, is to prosecute or extinguish, as contrary to justice, if not to Christianity, another form of religious organisation older, wider, more public than any of them can be; whether because the other form has attracted to itself temporal advantages which belong to what is old and public, and is surrounded by public conditions and limitations which, in one shape or another, every association, much more every public organisation, must have, but which of course must be open to plausible criticism, and which to many excellent men unquestionably seem grievous bonds, therefore England is to be

deprived of something which she has never yet been without, which all the aggregate of sects cannot give, which vast numbers, to say the least, of Englishmen high and low, regard as the most precious religious advantage—an interested, open, public Church.

There is not a sentence, hardly a phrase, in this pregnant and somewhat formidable paragraph which does not tempt, almost imperatively demand, criticism; but our space will not allow of our treating it as it requires. We must, however, just mark the large concessions that are made. We have at all events a right, as Nonconformists, to exist and enjoy the utmost freedom we can desire for ourselves. Indeed it is confessed by both the critics that we have had our uses. The *Quarterly* tells us that in England religion has been organised "simultaneously on two different and antagonistic principles, and on both of them organised naturally, strongly, and popularly, that these two the Church system and Nonconformist system have long been, like two nations and two manner of people, struggling in the womb of Christianity," and that "the remarkable thing is English society will have both of them." It is intensely opposed to the idea of England being given up wholly to sects among which the Episcopal Church should take its place, but it admits that the sects themselves have been of great service to English progress. They have been, according to the *Edinburgh*, of advantage even to the Church, for "they warn it of perils, they expose its abuses, they indicate the reforms it needs, they show how its boundaries may safely be extended, they pioneer its advance, they teach in many respects a more excellent method of attaining its ends." After such an acknowledgment of the *raison d'être* of Nonconformist churches and of the services they are rendering, the question naturally suggest themselves—Why should they be relegated to an inferior position in the national economy? Why should the State, of which they form so important a part, of a minority only barely a minority of its members, and for which they are confessedly doing such valuable work, select one Church as the Church of the nation?

As, however, our desire for equality is admitted to be a natural one, it may be that any claims based upon it will be granted, provided that they do not "proscribe and extinguish" another form of religious organisation. But this is just what we do not desire, and are not attempting to do. The most complete triumph which the Liberation Society could achieve would not interfere with the existence, nor necessarily with the influence, of the "historic Church." The State could take away only what the State gives. If, then, the Episcopal Church has a right to be regarded as the Church of Christ, and to treat all others as sects, that right would still remain to it, unless, indeed, the Reviewer means to assert that it is the law which makes it the Catholic Church. By "historic Churches" the *Edinburgh* understands "Churches which have not been self-constituted under some special influence, or for some special purpose" (what Churches are they, we should be glad to be informed, which answer to this description), "but which descend directly from the original stock, either in unbroken order or with such a breach merely as public authority has sanctioned." If, then, it be "historic" now, historic it will be when disestablished. Disestablishment will deprive it only of certain "temporal advantages," the loss of which, we fully believe, will ultimately prove its greatest gain. A more miserably Erastian view than that which would make the difference between the "Church" and the "sects" depend upon the action of the State, we cannot conceive, and we can only commend those who maintain it to the tender mercies of Mr. Orby Shipley and the "Catholic" party in general. We understand their position, though we do not accept it, but the ground of those who suppose that the Church would lose anything that belongs to her as a spiritual body, because she is deprived of certain exclusive privileges and national revenues, is neither intelligible nor defensible. Prestige there is no doubt attaching to the community which the State patronises, but that prestige cannot be the basis of a distinction between the "Church" and the "sects." We wonder that those who suggest such a view forget that what the State made the State can unmake, and so it ought to-morrow exalt some despised sect into the rank of the Catholic Church, and degrade it in turn to the level of the sect. The truth is, the State has given the Episcopal Church nothing but rank and property, and this is all of which she can deprive her. Most of the advantages which are claimed for her, and even that moderation of which so much is said, often with more zeal than discretion, are the effects of other causes than her connection with the State, and would remain even if that were dissolved. But the proof of this, and the notice of other points in the most suggestive articles in the Quarterlies, we have not now space to dwell upon.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

The only Parliamentary topic of an ecclesiastical nature which has come up for discussion in the House of Commons during the past week, has been the Lectionary Bill, which gave rise to a remarkably interesting debate on Thursday evening. It would have been possible, on such an occasion, for the Nonconformist members of the House to have levelled some effective taunts at the position of the only Church in the land which is obliged to come to Parliament in order to have its services regulated and set. But the Nonconformist members were, for the most part, silent, and what was said by them was simply in the way of protest against such subjects coming before Parliament at all. Mr. Lewis's amendment, which was remarkably well proposed, brought up the now fruitful topic of how much liberty could be allowed to the clergymen of the State Church? In all other Churches the officiating minister chooses what portions of the Scriptures that he may deem best suitable for reading; but the House of Commons is clearly of opinion that the ecclesiastical officers of the State could not and should not be allowed such liberty. Mr. Lewis was therefore defeated by 195 to 154 votes. There were indications in this debate that, when the time arrives for it, the condition of the Church will be treated with considerable freedom. Mr. Buxton's speech is only one out of many of the same kind that wait for the proper occasion. Meantime, we have allowed the Church to modify her services, but with the conviction that any modification that is possible at the present time is the merest tinkering, and will last but for a few years.

The Lords' Committee have reported upon the University Tests question, and, singularly enough, the report contains "no recommendation." It may be assumed that this indicates an extreme division of opinion both in the witnesses examined and in the Committee. Next week we hope to be able to give a general summary of the evidence that has been produced. Canon Liddon was one of the witnesses, and while advocating, for political reasons, a modification of the tests, expressed his opinion that there should still be some test, which would admit Roman Catholics and Dissenters as a whole, but exclude Unitarians, Deists, &c. We hope our Unitarian friends will feel grateful for this; if not, they may perhaps come to the conclusion that they have made a rather profound mistake in not joining the Liberation ranks. For, to what party in England can they now look to assert and secure their rights but the Liberation party? If it should fail in this, it will be partly owing to the Unitarians themselves. As regards Canon Liddon, we have a rather distinct recollection of the Canon's saying, some two years ago, that he would prefer disestablishment to the abolition of the tests. We will try to find his remarks before our next issue.

The Irish Episcopalian Convention has given the go-bye to Church reform, but the division upon the subject was of the utmost significance. After a prolonged debate, an amendment declaring the present time inopportune for alterations, was rejected by a majority of both clergy and laity. But the motion for reform being put, it also was rejected. It was known that the bishops were opposed to any reform, and the clergy now showed that they were inclined to follow the bishops. There was the necessary and a vast majority of the lay element to go on with the motion, but not the necessary majority of the clerical element. Quite the contrary. The clergy, therefore, have, in the earliest stage of the new history of the Church stood up according to their old instincts. Everything should be as it had been, and the result most likely will be—one of these days at least—a clean sweep of the whole of their order.

How long a time it takes for the ordinary clerical mind to accommodate itself to new circumstances is illustrated by the recent address of Canon Hey at the archdiaconal visitation at Rotherham. The main portion of the address was taken up with the subject of Church-rates, and any one would think, to read it, that these rates had only been abolished this year. Then the Canon referred to the Burials Bill, upon which he remarked that:

> There was a bill now before Parliament which appeared to encroach so grievously upon the religious rites of the Church of England that he could not but refer to it. He referred to the Burial Bill, a bill which not only permitted all sorts of services to be performed in the churchyards, however repugnant they might be, but also conferred a general right to use and occupy churchyards in any way the people chose. The need of the bill, he felt convinced, was an imaginary one, and where cemeteries were not within easy reach, he could not but think that in the few cases of apparent hardship when the clergyman declined to read the burial service, the difficulty might be overcome by burial in the churchyard after the service had been performed elsewhere. He therefore urged them to offer the most strenuous opposition to the bill.

What other course than this could be expected?

Another archdeacon has also been delivering a charge—Archdeacon Anson, of Manchester. Mr. Anson referred at considerable length to the Parochial Councils Bill. At the conclusion of his observations this gentlemen remarked that "step by step Churchmen had been working their way towards as complete a system of government as could be conceived." This certainly was a novel observation. The general opinion is that the present system of government in the Church is as bad as bad can be, and that, relatively, it is getting worse. What is the complete and perfect system which exists in the Archdeacon's imagination? and how long does he think it will take the Church to obtain it?

The May anniversaries have been begun, as usual, by the Baptists. Yesterday the Rev. C. M. Birrell delivered an admirable address to the Union, on the importance of the influence of Christian character, and the necessity of exerting it at the present time. In the course of his observations Mr. Birrell referred to the advance of religious liberty, both on the Continent and in England. The address was of a high character, and impressively delivered. Some of the well-known supporters of the Baptist denomination were present to hear it. There, once more, were Mr. Hinton, Mr. Mursell, and Dr. Steane. Two other forms were missing—those of Dr. Evans and Mr. Middleditch—whose loss to the denomination has been great. Mr. Trestrail was afterwards the recipient of a testimonial—well earned and well given.

While writing of the Baptists, we may as well, once more, refer to the New York case, adverted to in these columns a fortnight ago. We quote the following summary of the opinions of the American Baptist press from an American Congregational journal:—

> Says the *Christian Secretary*—"We are sorry, and we are ashamed. . . . We wish our brethren might have had a repentance, at least, as good as Judas when he went back with his money," &c. Says the *Watchman and Reflector*—"We never could have believed for a moment that Baptists, of all denominations, would not spurn an offer so false in principle." Says the *Christian Era*—"We suppose there is no way to avoid the disgrace which has fallen on the Baptists of the United States." Says the *Standard*—"We cannot but most earnestly wish the decision of the society had been exactly the reverse." Says the *National Baptist*—"The conviction is growing that some public action should be had by the denomination at large to indicate an utter repudiation of this betrayal of our principles, and to fix the responsibility precisely where it belongs." The only exception to this honourable unanimity is the *Examiner and Chronicle*, which squarely defends the action of the society as just right. But everybody else refuses to see how it can hereafter consistently complain at any robbery of the people in the interests of Our Established Church.

However, the "Old Ladies" have secured their land, and show no signs of giving it up. We are glad, however, to read these unanimous protests against their action.

We have received a letter from a Scottish correspondent in reply to the recent article in the *Spectator*, for which we are sorry to say we cannot find room. The writer deals especially with the argument that the Church will cease to exist in the rural districts if disestablishment should take place. But, he pertinently inquires—

> Has disestablishment in Scotland extinguished the Church in thinly-peopled districts. The fact is, that in thinly-peopled districts, the disestablished Church, *and it alone*, provides for the religious teaching of the people. The Church is one, and by means of the sustentation scheme of the Free Church, and the home mission scheme of the United Presbyterian Church, the Gospel is preached in the most distant and thinly-peopled districts of our highlands and islands. Does the *Spectator* suppose that the friends of the Church of England will sit down and fold their hands the moment disestablishment is effected? Englishmen endowed the Church when the country was poor. Now that she is rich, does any one dream that England is not able to provide for the maintenance of all her clergy? In every corner of the land, wherever there is a hamlet or a farm, there is wealth and, I believe, willinghood enough among the friends of the dear old Church of England, to give a neat manse and a minimum of at least 250*l.* a year. The scandal of miserable gentlemen begging for old clothes will be for ever ended. Comfort, if not affluence, will be secured to all her ministers, and the wealthy and noble clergy who now spend their wealth for the good of their parishes will not be hindered in any work in which they now engage. The *Spectator* imagines that in many poor, thinly-peopled districts the light of the Gospel and the influence of a cultured and refined household will be extinguished. The *Spectator* is mistaken—disestablishment has always in Scotland led to the Gospel being more fully preached to the poor.

NONCONFORMIST CONFERENCE.

On Thursday afternoon, a Conference was held in the Queen's Hotel, Manchester, composed of members of the Nonconformist Committees of

Birmingham and Liverpool and of the Executive Committee of the Manchester Nonconformist Association. The Conference met at one o'clock, when the members were entertained at luncheon by Mr. Richard Johnson, who occupied the chair. The following are the names of those present:—From the Birmingham Committee: Revs. R. W. Dale, H. W. Crosskey, J. J. Brown, and J. Marsden; and Messrs. J. S. Wright, J, Chamberlain, W. Middlemore, and F. Schnadhorst. From the Liverpool Committee: Messrs. W. Crosfield, J. J. Stitt, A. Armour, J. Roberts, T. Snape, and E. Mounsey. From the Manchester Committee: Revs. A. Thomson, A. M'Laren, S. A. Steinthal, W. James, J. A. Macfayden, and J. Corbett; and Messrs. J. Leese, R. Johnson, J. Thompson, H. Lee, J. A. Beith, William Milne, J. Boyd, and E. Helm, jun.

After a long discussion of political questions as bearing upon the principle of religious equality, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That the political power of the Nonconformists of the country should be organised, in order to secure the complete legislative recognition of the principle of religious equality.

2. That a deputation from the three Committees wait, at an early date, upon Mr. Gladstone, to inform him of the position of Nonconformists respecting the application of public rates to denominational purposes.

3. That a General Conference of Nonconformists be called at Manchester; the time to be fixed and arrangements to be made by the Manchester Committee.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the procedings.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.

BIRMINGHAM.

In our last number we gave a telegraphic summary of the meeting held at the Town-hall, Birmingham, and convened by the Central Nonconformist Committee, in support of Mr. Miall's disestablishment motion. There was a large attendance, though, owing to the extremely wet weather, the hall was not crowded. Amongst the letters of apology was one from the Rev. G. B. Johnson, who said:—

I believe in the wisdom of Mr. Miall's resolution, and I believe in the spirit and sagacity of Mr. Miall himself. No man in the kingdom has made greater sacrifices than he in advocating religious equality and the entire freedom of the Church from State control. His life and pen have gone together, and he eminently deserves our hearty support. I have no sympathy with the idea that the Church will, if let alone, disestablish herself. I have been a minister for thirty years, and I cannot remember a time when her internal dissensions and corruptions were not a scandal in our land. The High-Church, the Broad-Church, and the Low-Church, and every section of them, all can indulge in every kind of mutual recrimination and indignant protest; they can tell the public from pulpit, platform, and press that their respective dogmas and practices are utterly irreconcilable, and yet they affirm the same thirty-nine articles, and they use the same formularies of worship and services in baptism and burial. In those thirty years I have seen them all rebuked and restrained by the decisions of the ecclesiastical judges. I have read their flaming protests against those decisions—their hints at secessions; no current literature has been more lively; and I have seen them still remain where they are. It is these things which make me utterly distrustful of the achievement of separation of Church and State, apart from the influence of the broad principles of loyalty to God and conscience, and of equal justice between man and man.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. W. Middlemore, J.P., made a suitable opening address.

The first resolution was moved by the Rev. EDWARD WHITE, of London:—

That in the opinion of the meeting the national endowment of Established Churches is a misapplication of national property; that the national sanction given to the theological creed and ecclesiastical policy of Established Churches is a grievous injustice to Nonconformist communions; that the religious interests of the nation receive serious injury from the present relations of Church and State; that those relations impair the unity of the national life: and that it is therefore just and expedient that the Episcopal Churches of England and Wales and the Presbyterian Church in Scotland be disestablished and disendowed.

Mr. White said: Every man who has had anything to do with controversy, and even every lady who has held a discussion with her husband, knows the immense value of an honest opponent—an opponent honest and wise enough to take occasional notice, not only of his own points, but of yours; not only of his own arguments, but of the best and strongest which you bring against him. One often hears it said by our able and worthy antagonists in this controversy on the union of Church and State, "You advocates of Liberation are for ever dinning into our ears your complaints against the injustice of Establishments, against the wrong done to Nonconformity by upholding them: why don't you answer some of our strongest reasons for maintaining them?" Well, Sir, though it has often been done before, that is what I purpose endeavouring to do to-night; and having the honour of appearing before you as a deputation from the London Committee, I shall devote the time allotted to me to an examination of a few of the arguments most relied upon by the best of our adversaries. It is a sure sign of progress that at length so numerous a party of them are willing to discuss facts and principles with us, especially when so large a body in the nation is still both unable or unwilling to defend their position by an appeal to reason. With many, indeed, who are opposed to our policy there is no hope of success by argument. Does anyone, for instance, imagine that if this Town-hall were crowded to-night with a vast assembly of all the leading parish beadles of the kingdom, each of them arrayed in scarlet apparel for glory and for beauty, with a cocked hat upon his head, and a staff "like unto a weaver's beam" in his hand, even should an archangel commend to their attention the best arguments with heaven's own eloquence, any solid impression would be made upon that jolly and rubicund assemblage? Here and there, indeed, a thoughtful beadle might begin to suspect the wisdom of his ancestors; but the main body would hold fast to the traditions of antiquity with which his own importance as a parish officer was so inseparably connected. I fear the result would be little different with an assembly of churchwardens, or even with a more highly educated congregation of rectors and archdeacons. They, their friends, their connections, and relatives, everywhere would denounce our policy as revolutionary, and refuse to listen to our appeals. People who have not been reasoned into their opinions can seldom be reasoned out of them. Men fight to the last for that in which they have been bred, and in which they hope to die. It is not, however, by any of the classes now referred to that the future policy of England will be determined. This will depend on the convictions of the leading statesmen and people of England, and as soon as such men as Mr, Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Hardy, are convinced that this change is inevitable, the now opposing classes will follow them, and very likely will tell us five years afterwards that they were always privately of the same opinion. Now, Sir, the first argument in support of the Establishment is that which we hear on all sides from the clergy themselves—that it is the duty of the State to concern itself with the spiritual interests of the nation—that since man is a unity, the State is a unity also, and therefore compelled to take account of the spiritual welfore of the people. To this I oppose first an abstract, and next a practical reply. The abstract answer is this:—If it be the duty of the State to provide for the religion of the citizen, it must be the duty of the citizen to conform himself with unquestioning obedience to the guidance of the State. The rights and duties of the State must correspond to the duties of its subjects. Hence will follow this consequence—that the more religion this State possesses, the less will the individual citizen possess. The more the State determines what is best in religion, the less is it the duty of the citizen to think and inquire for himself. But this strikes at the root of all real religion, which can exist only in an atmosphere of free individual inquiry and personal conviction. It is best therefore to abandon this establishment of religion by the State if we wish to see free and honest thought flourish in England. If we wish to be paralysed, enslaved, and priest-ridden, by all means let the State be exceedingly devout and perfectly theological. If we wish individual religion to flourish let Christianity go free. Next, I reply by a practical argument. I concede for the moment your principle; that the State ought to concern itself in the spiritual interests of the nation. Well, what are they? They are these three: the theological, the moral, and the ecclesiastical; and I affirm that, in each department, the State has failed to benefit me spiritually; in my theology, in my morality, and in my ecclesiastical affairs has failed most shamefully and egregiously—so that the Establishment ought, as a convicted failure, to be swept away without delay. It has failed theologically. I declare, on the faith of an Englishman, that I can make neither head nor tail of the Government theology. The original Church of England was founded by men who were Evangelicals and High Sacramentarians. But the Church at present contains no such great party. Our High-Churchmen are Sacramentarians, but they are not Evangelicals. Our Evangelicals are Evangelicals indeed, but they are not High Sacramentarians. And our Broad-Churchmen are neither. Yet the State has, through the decisions

> Multiplication is vexation,
> Division is as bad!
> Lord Westbury's law it puzzles me,
> Lord Hatherley's drives me mad.

of the Privy Council, given a legal standing to each of these parties, so that it is now lawful for the clergy to hold and teach contradictory tenets under the shelter of one or the other of the Council judgments. The theology of the Church of England is the laughing-stock of Christendom, and utterly confounds the intellect of the citizen who seeks for State guidance in theological affairs.

("Hear, hear," and cheers.) The State also fails in teaching me morality. The chief rule of morality, the backbone of any moral teaching worthy of the name, is truth-speaking and integrity in the use of language. If an institution fails here it fails everywhere. Well, Sir, the successive decisions of the Privy Council have sanctioned a system of clerical subscription to the Prayer-book and Articles which strikes at the root of honesty in the use of speech, in such a manner that clerical subscription in England has become the byeword of Europe and the scandal of the country. If similar principles were adopted in Birmingham in your commercial system, so that men might lawfully sign documents in non-natural senses, the whole fabric of your industry would instantly collapse. It is therefore essential to the moral welfare of England that this atrocious system of equivocating subscription should be forthwith ended; and it can be ended only by the disestablishment of the Church. Lastly, the State has failed in its pretension to consult any ecclesiastical interests. It has allowed to grow up by connivance a system of preferment, under which souls of man are bought and sold to the highest bidder like sheep or oxen. I am permitted by the State to choose my own baker, butcher, lawyer, and surgeon, and in all other professions the dependence of men on the goodwill of their clients is considered to be no prejudice to their fidelity. But in religion the State treats me as a lunatic, enslaves me to a patron, or sells me to a buyer. Why should not the people of England have a voice in the choice of the parochial pastors? In every particular the concern of the State in any spiritual interests is a failure. We therefore demand that being a failure the Establishment should cease. Well, Sir, another argument in support of the existing system, much insisted on by many, is this. It is said, "If you disestablish the Church of England, you will destroy it, for it will never hold together by cohesion afterwards, but will explode into atoms like a bombshell"; and that is regarded as an awful catastrophe under no circumstances to be considered or endured. But the motives which persuade the clergy and members of the Church of England to hold together now are either good or bad; they are either religious and worthy motives, or they are unworthy, secular, and indefensible. If they are worthy and religious, those motives would surely remain in force when disestablishment occurred. Men who think so much of unity as to hold together now, will surely hold together then, and in that case the Church of England will not go to pieces when she stands alone. If, on the other hand, the motives of cohesion are unworthy, secular, and indefensible, if men are persuaded to pretend a religious unity only for reasons of State, or for reasons of worldly profit, then the sooner such a unity is exploded the better for the Church, the sooner such a bubble bursts the better for the religion of the nation. A third argument on which great stress is laid by Mr. Gladstone himself is this. It is said that an Establishment exerts a direct influence in favour of religion on that vast mass of outsiders who cannot be reckoned in the inner circle of the devout, but who are, so to speak, prepared for a deeper influence by a natural religion. Any serious argument of Mr. Gladstone deserves a serious answer. But is it then to be believed that Christianity will lose its influences upon the outlying multitudes when it ceases to be established? Rather when it is no longer disguised under the pernicious appearance of an effete ecclesiastical institution, effete in both its theology and morality, it will exert a tenfold deeper influence upon the body of the nation, and upon the non-church-going portion of it. It is said that when the Church ceases to be established, far fewer ladies and gentlemen will go to church. Then let them stay at home! Let them make room for those new outlying multitudes of men and women who perhaps may be then attracted by a religion less mediæval, more real, and more free. Try the effect of presenting to these outlying multitudes whose nominal Christianity you are so anxious to perpetuate, an edition of the Church in religion more primitive, perhaps more rational, and more apostolic, less loaded with middle-age technicalities and prelatic pretensions. You will find that the outsiders will respond to the experiment, especially if you will cease to sell their souls to simoniacal parsons in the market. I shall pass by, Mr. Chaioman, the next argument on which I had intended to say a word, namely, that an Establishment is the bulwark of Protestantism, with the single observation, that it has actually become the single danger amongst us of a politically dangerous Romanism; and that the sooner the temptation is removed the better for our liberties. The last argument in support of the Establishment is that which may be called the argument from the Great Red Dragon, and to this I shall devote my closing words. By the Great Red Dragon I do not intend that Apocalyptic monster, on which Dr. Cumming has written so many commentaries little acceptable to the more judicious students of prophecy. But I refer to the Red Republic of modern times—to that scarlet-coloured beast who at this moment has obtained the upper hand in Paris, and is warring with impartial vigour against all laws human and divine. In referring to Republicanism, I wish to speak with discrimination. There are Republicans and Republicans. Some are Red, some are of a delicate and unobjectionable Pink, and some are only Green. I refer only to the Reds—to those who wish to amend the world by violence and uproar. Well, sir, we have the great Red Dragon in England. No sooner is any weighty measure of public justice proposed to the nation, no sooner does such a measure threaten to win, by discussion in all the market-places of the country, the assent of the governing classes and of the intelligent and peaceable men of all ranks, than this savage brute begins to bellow, or, at least, the small gang of demagogues who live in his belly and roar in his name. It looks as if the whip of the Tory party on every such occasion paid a visit to this Dragon, with a message from head-quarters to some such effect as this—"Now, roar your very wildest.

Shake the country with your thunders. Cry after this fashion, 'Yes, I, the Great Red Dragon, am a Miallite! And when I have swallowed up the Church, I will swallow up the law Lords, and the Peers, and the Monarchy itself, leaving only a little rag of the robes of State hanging out of the corners of my mouth, to show where all the rest have gone to!'" Thus roars the great Red Dragon even now. And Mr. Disraeli is not displeased at the sound of his voice, for he thinks that thereby the laborious and respectable classes of England will be frightened out of all further projects of reform, whether political or ecclesiastical. The Red Dragon is a very important ally of the Tory party. In the next Tory Administration Mr. Disraeli ought to offer him the post of Secretary of State for the Home Department. But, in fact, the English people is not frightened by his thunders. We are acquainted with the habits of the animal, and with the proper modes of treating him in his times of fury. What do we? No sooner does he begin, than some powerful enchanter goes down to Nottingham, and boldly enters his den, where lies the scarlet dragon covered with a coverlet of lace, savagely roaring. "Give me your paw!" says he. With a horrid growl he gives it. "Open your mouth and let me look at your tongue and jaws." He opens his mouth, and, finding both tongue and fauces inflamed with roaring, the enchanter administers what may be called a tolerably strong dose of homœopathic medicine, calls him "Good Dragon," bids him good night, and sends him to sleep, and we then hear no more of him for a season following. Sometimes, however, our Red Monster will not submit to soothing and sympathetic treatment, and what do we then? Twenty-three years ago, in 1848, he came up to London, roaring most fiercely with a thunder which shook St. Paul's and all her daughter churches, saying that he would sack the Bank and kill the Lord Mayor, two of our most valued institutions in town. What happened? We called out a quarter of a million of specially respectable constables of all ranks, armed each of them with a club an inch and a quarter thick; they then stood in a ring round the Bank and the Lord Mayor, and bade the Great Red Dragon look out for his skull. Without more ado, he turned tail, and went home swearing to his tea and muffins; and from that day to this, we have never heard of him again in the metropolis. This is the parable of the Great Red Dragon. The upshot of it is that there is no reason to fear the consequences even if you do disestablish the Church. England is in favour of order, and will not allow either the landlords or the peers or the monarchy to be the victims of insolence. Nothing but bad character and bad conduct can destroy the monarchy, nothing but bad management and refusal to listen to public opinion can destroy the peerage. If they are wise and abandon indefensible institutions, their own position may be rather assured and established by the change; for in England we accomplish by peaceful argument, by gradual well-considered reform, that which abroad is done badly, or not done at all by violence and revolution. Having therefore, Sir, no fears from the great Red Dragon, I commend this resolution, will all goodwill, to the people of Birmingham. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Auberon Herbert, M.P. (who was cordially received) in seconding the resolution, said that they could not in this country trifle with great principles; they could not judge one institution by clear sense and reason, and hope that another institution, for which they happened to have some sort of partiality, should escape the same law. (Hear, hear.) He knew this was what they were all fond of doing. They wanted to take a great principle and use it just so far as it suited them, and then to stop short. But they were dangerous things to play with. (Hear, hear.) He would not follow the Red Dragon into any of its caverns, but would at once devote himself to the subject which had brought them together that night. What were the reasons, he would first ask, which the defenders of the Established Church put forward as a plea for the continuance of the Establishment? The first was the practical good which that Establishment was doing at the present moment. The defenders of the Church in England would point especially to its missionary efforts in the great towns, and also to the great good it was doing in the country districts. As regarded the willingness, did they suppose there would be, after the disestablishment, any one man willing to work to-day who would be less willing to-morrow? Did they suppose disestablishment was going to affect the zeal or earnestness of a single worker? Then, secondly, as to the means of giving effect to that willingness. He at once dismissed the case of large towns, because they knew there was quite enough wealth in those towns to do what they wished; but the case on which the defenders of the Established Church rested was that of the country districts. He would suppose some one of the defenders of the Established Church, taking them by the hand, and leading them through the country, should point out to them the old churches, and the pleasant rectory houses grouped by their side under the old elm trees, and as he pointed them out he should call their attention to the ignorance and helplessness which surrounded them on all sides. (Applause and laughter.) He would tell them how there came, at all events, one ray of hope and comfort, like dim tapers burning in the night, for such were the homes of the clergy to the ignorance and helplessness that were around them. He, for one, should frankly admit that there was a great deal of truth in the picture; there was a great deal of real and hearty effort going on in many of the country parishes in the kingdom. (Cheers.) But he would ask them to examine a little what was the character of the work. He thought they would notice in it that the gain which resulted from the work, the amount of civilisation which had been diffused under this system, had one great drawback, and that was that it was rather given than self-acquired. (Hear, hear.) He held that the value of all civilising work of that sort depended upon its coming from within rather than from without. (Applause.) To be of real and lasting value it must be sought for and laboured for by the people who obtained it. He could not help noticing that the spiritual teaching which went on in our English parishes was rationed out, and was not chosen by the people for themselves, but was chosen by others for them. (Hear, hear.) To use the words of the old Puritan, "This moral teaching was apt to rest upon the arm of flesh." That was to say, it came to those who received it recommended by soup-tickets, meat-tickets, and by blanket-tickets, by Christmas and by Easter gifts. (Laughter and cheers.) Though he would acknowledge as frankly as he could that those gifts were made in the spirit of charity and kindness, yet still, if they looked beneath the surface, if they criticised with severity, they would agree with him that there was a dependence and a degradation mixed up with the system. (Cheers.) He held that it should be an inexorable law that the two offices—the office of him who relieved the daily wants of another, and the office of him who was the moral or spiritual teacher—should be absolutely separate. Let all society, whatever might be its conditions or its creed, whether in town or in country, combine together to relieve material wonts; whilst they left each part of society to choose for itself its own moral teacher. (Cheers.) But, perhaps, some one might say it could not well be otherwise, considering how helpless and how dependent was the condition of the country districts. He admitted their condition was such as he had described, but he hoped that they of the great towns were not going to leave go the hands of the country districts. He hoped that there were many things which they had in store for those districts. They were, he hoped, going to try to lift them out of their present condition, and to give them a real governing body elected by every householder in the counties. They were going to extend the Parliamentary votes to the householders of the counties, and to make men go into the market and become holders of land, and thus see if they could not find a happier and more independent condition for the agricultural labourer than that which existed at present. And lastly, he hoped that they were going to give Mr. Forster no rest whatsoever until he had perfected the system of national education in counties as well as in towns. (Loud cheers.) It was said that the Established Church was broader and freer than any other religious organisation, that the yoke of the Established Church pressed less heavily on its children; that it required less conscientiousness on the part of its adherents; but he would add to what Mr. White had said, that it seemed to him there was now-a-days in every religious organisation much of what they might call a Broad party growing up. If possible, that Broad party was not as large as some of them could wish to see. Let them remember that the Established Church had by cruel injustice kept for itself the great educational centres, and shut their gates upon the other religious bodies of this country. Moreover, he thought with Mr. White that there was in that tolerance rather more appearance than reality, because parties were balanced in the Church, and neither party had the power to eject the other. In Parliament now there were so many Roman Catholics, Jews, and heretics of various descriptions—(laughter)—that he did not think that Parliament could be induced to countenance the efforts of any one party in the Established Church to eject another. They were all willing to do persecution for their own sakes, but they were not willing to do it for anybody else's. When the Established Church became her own mistress, and was as broad and forbearing as she was to-day, he would be the first to do her honour for it; but he could not recognise this forbearance or breadth when it came from necessity or interest. When it grew freely, when it was cherished and cultivated for its own sake, then he would do honour to it. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. Illingworth, M.P., in supporting the resolution, said that Parliament, led by Mr. Gladstone, and supported by the immense and enlightened public opinion of this country, demanded for Ireland that every man should sustain his own religion, if he regarded it as of any worth whatever. Then came the great subject of education; and here he confessed with shame that they fell far short of what the country had a right to expect at their hands; and he believed they suffered that damage altogether owing to the fact that they had in this country an Established Church. There was no stronger illustration of the injustice of a national Establishment to be found than by the way the Education Bill was framed and supported in both Houses of Parliament. (Applause.) One clause of the resolution contained a complete indictment against the Established Church, but he wished to leave out all references that had been made to "grievous injustice to the adherents of all Nonconformist communions," because he agreed in the main with Mr. Morley that Dissenters' and Nonconformist grievances were coming to an end; and that the question of the English Church Establishment must be discussed altogether on different grounds. They were not discussing minorities or majorities, as was the case with reference to Ireland, although even that question would be discussed at the proper time. Reference had been made (and he believed this was the only argument that would really bear any lengthened examination) to the deplorable condition in which the country districts would be left in case the English Church was disestablished. But let them see what the Episcopalians were doing in Ireland. They were regenerating the Church, and providing for the most wretched district in the country. When the Irish Church was established, it was not an aggressive nor an evangelising Church, but simply protested againt Romanism. It was a sort of immoveable pillar in the country, but now it had now become an aggressive Church, and there was already a talk about the union of the different branches of the Protestant body, a thing, he supposed, which had never been heard of before. They had had rung in their ears what a munificent Dublin brewer did in restoring St. Patrick's Cathedral. He thought it was a misapplication of wealth and power under the circumstances. They had also lately another gentleman offering to restore a cathedral church, and to provide a chapter house at an expense of 100,000*l*. This showed that the Irish Episcopalians were exerting themselves to the benefit of the people by whom they were surrounded. He believed that the agricultural districts in this country would be similarly benefited. He asked them to look at the case of Wales. There was no argument adduced in favour of the disestablisment of the Irish Church which did not apply to Wales. He did not refer to the distribution of places of worship, but it was a fact that, taking their number, the Welsh required no additional places of worship at the present moment, throughout the whole Principality. Take, again, the case of Scotland. In theory, as well as in practice, one-thid of the people were thoroughly anti-State Church, and another third was rapidly adopting the system; so that in Scotland two-thirds were sustaining the whole religious demands of the nation, without any assistance from the State. Surely it could not be held that for the maintenance of a Church in Scotland, it was necessary to support one branch, consisting only of one-third of the population, at the expense of the remaining two-thirds. But let them take the case of our own country. In the discussion which took place a short time ago in Parliament reference was made to the Parochial Councils Bill, brought in by Lord Sandon, and Mr. Gladstone himself observed that in all large districts there were many district churches which were in no sense parochial churches, but in their maintenance those churches were purely voluntary. Churchmen said that they possessed nine-tenths of the wealth of the country. If that were so they should be paying nine-tenths of the taxation. (Loud laughter.) He would not stop to inquire whether they did or not. There were some (Mr. Goschen among the number) who held the contrary. But on the question of disendowment, if this were the case, it was clear that Churchmen would get nine-tenths of the relief, and the lion's share would come back into their own pockets. He did not want to discuss the question as Nonconformists, but as Englishmen now in possession of political power, feeling strongly the responsibility that rested upon them. Never was there any period when the minds of the people were more open to conviction; and the great mass of the people were instinctively with this movement. They felt that the Established Church was a violation of every principle of justice. They could see in it no fair play. They saw in it no help to religion, but they could see in it a degradation of Christianity, an alliance with the secular power instead of a higher power; and, if he understood the working classes of the country, they would be won over by the manifestations of self-denial, rather than by selfishness and cupidity. The members for most of their large towns would be found voting on this question *en bloc*, and it only required that they should secure the popular suffrage in counties protected by the ballot, in order to realise within the next few years that which the resolution succinctly and clearly put forward. (Applause.)

The Rev. H. W. Crosskey (who moved the resolution in favour of Mr. Miall's motion given in our last number) said he thought the tone of that meeting very plainly indicated to the town, and he trusted also to the country, what would be meant in Birmingham by the agitation upon this subject. It was to be a national question—not a squabble between Dissent and Church for any special privileges, but the abnegation by both Dissent and Church of any claim whatever to exclusive privilege in matters that appertained to the soul of man and his Maker. (Loud cheers.) They meant that the agitation was to be thorough. They did not speak of disestablishment without disendowment—(Hear, hear)—but they meant the application of national money to national purposes—(loud cheers)—that in this country all that had been the peculiar wealth of a sect should be given to that which was for the common good. (Hear, hear.) He was sanguine enough to hope that even an education rate might be lightened by the right application of funds now used for sectarian purposes. (Loud applause.) They also meant that this was to be part, in fact, the principal feature of the Liberal policy of the future; that for the Liberal party one thing remained to crown the labours of previous years. Whilst the giving of the suffrage to the great mass of our fellow-men was a great step; whilst to liberate the bread from taxation was a vast advance; whilst to cut the Irish Church adrift was a noble step—the mightiest step yet remained to be taken in this country. They should continue to labour in order that religion might be professed with-

out bribe on the one hand or penalty on the other—(Hear, hear)—and that no office or employment in the land, no post in a school, or anything which concerned the intellect and culture of man should be touched by the shadow of sectarianism. (Loud cheers.) How was it that they now raised the controversy with renewed energy? He said it was because they were met at every step by the fact that exclusive claims in religion could only last as long as they tried to increase their exclusiveness. (Hear, hear.) One would have thought that in this great town there were lessons enough upon this great controversy. One would have thought that wisdom had been learnt by a long contested struggle against a rate. This same party which drove men into exile in former years on the Church question tried to support their public schools by public money, and to use the education rate as another establishment. (Loud cheers.) They were told by Mr. Burges that they were proposing a matter of robbery. (Loud laughter.) A quotation was made from Mr. Mann to the effect that tithes appeared to have had their origin in voluntary payments, but the peculiarity had been that voluntary payments perpetuated themselves in a tax; and they only wished to return to the voluntaryism in which they said it was originated. (Cheers.) It was also said that it was purely a rent charge, and that although they had the power the Church party denied the right which they had to sanction any dealing with the money. Let this be understood. Every penny which had been given to the Church had been given on the condition that this Church was under the State. (Hear, hear.) It held every endowment in its subjection to the State, and it was impossible now to come and claim the freedom of Voluntaryism to keep estates which the State had a perfect right to resume. (Hear, hear.) Then they were told again by a bishop who had entered on the field of defence that there was no other institution which could be as useful to the people of England as the English Church. (Loud laughter.) He admitted that the Church had been useful to England, and held that such usefulness would absolutely survive the destruction of its connection with the State—(Hear, hear)—but he said that it had not been useful, but had been an obstacle to human progress in those matters which they asked it to surrender. The usefulness of the Church politically had been to lengthen the struggle for every reform in this country—(loud cheers)—to stop the action of natural law in relation to marriage—("Hear, hear," and cheers)—and to interfere with ecclesiastical restrictions upon the freedom of the people. (Cheers.) Politically, the influence of the Church was so great that even Mr. Gladstone dare not introduce perfect freedom to the Universities; and the bill which was being sent back to the House of Lords was lamentably deficient, as it preserved some of the chief fellowships for the votaries of the favourite faith. Such had been the usefulness of the Church politically; but its usefulness morally and spiritually—that power by which it had touched human hearts with holy fervour and noble self-sacrifice—would never fall because it had not the power of the State at its back. The Church that trusted to the power of God might abandon the arm of man. (Great cheering.)

Mr. R. W. DALE, who was received with cheers, seconded the resolution. He said he wished to speak as a Nonconformist to Nonconformists. There were few of them who doubted the expediency of the motion. He did not believe in great secessions which would break up the Establishment. The experience of Scotland was against that view. His own conviction was that if a large party of the English clergy left the Church, within a very few years their places would be filled up, and the power of the Establishment would be untouched. (Cheers.) He believed disestablishment would never be effected except by the vigorous and persevering efforts of those who had learnt the strength and blessedness which came from ecclesiastical freedom. And, still appealing to those Nonconformists who were disposed to let matters take their course, and to wait for Providence, let him say he could not see how they could relieve themselves, as Nonconformists, from the obligation to attempt disestablishment. The motion of Mr. Miall was the only consistent and logical inference from their traditions, their acts, and their history. They were in this position. The Government was in the hands of the country. He and they were really responsible for their national legislation and polity. If a minister indicated his purpose to enter upon an unjust war, they were partly responsible for that injustice if they did not try to prevent it. If a minister proposed a law, which, as it seemed to them, threatened to be oppressive to any class of the community, they would be parties to the oppression if they did not do their utmost, by agitation and petition, to prevent it passing; and it was equally true that every law in their statute-book remained there either by their expressed or implied consent. There was not an Act of Parliament ever passed in the country which would remain in force long if the people insisted upon its repeal. (Cheers.) They wanted to repeal an Act of Parliament. It was altogether of a very peculiar character. It was passed a very long time ago, and it provided how Dr. Wilkinson and the congregation of St. Martin's Church were to worship next Sunday, and it prescribed the terms in which the Hon. and Rev. Grantham Yorke and his congregation should confess their sins next Sunday, and the pleas they should urge to God for forgiveness—(laughter.) it prescribed how many times they should say the Lord's Prayer in the service, when they should stand up and when they should sit down, and when the congregation should say "Amen." (Laughter.) This Act defined the articles of faith, which had to receive the consent of, he supposed, some 15,000 English clergymen, and it determined the thanksgivings when they had baptized their children, and the prayers they should offer at the mouth of the grave. So long as that Act remained upon the statute book the people of England—he and they—were responsible for all the obligations which it imposed upon the clergy and the congregations of the Church of England (Cheers). He saw Unitarians upon that platform, and they were responsible for the recitation of the Athanasian Creed in the churches next Sunday. He saw Baptists on the platform, and they were responsible for the statement at the baptism of infants that God had regenerated them by His Holy Spirit. He saw Methodists on that platform, and he said that it was partly by their authority and their influence that the clergy of the Church were bound to profess their assent to Calvinistic articles—(Laughter.) It lay on his conscience to relieve himself from his complicity with that act. He did not believe in some of the articles of the English Church—he did not approve of its polity—he could not honestly use its offices—he dissented from it partly because he differed from it in these things, and was he required to be a party to impose upon others what he himself had felt it necessary to reject or abandon? Every man whose religious opinions had led him to desert the English Church was bound to relieve himself of the responsibility of helping to impose those articles upon the clergy and the congregations. But, it might be said—why not reform the Church? Where, he asked, were they to begin?—where would they end? How could they touch one part without being guilty of injustice? Whatever change they suggested they would at once inflict injustice upon some party in the Church. (Cheers.) There were some people, again, who did not understand that the property of the Church had been created for it by the nation. There were some who still believed that the tithe and glebe lands were given to the Church by their pious ancestors who lived seven or eight hundred years ago. He believed the tithes belonged to the people of England. (Cheers.) He would give them a reason for his belief. There were from twenty-four to thirty millions of acres of land cultivated in the country. Eight millions of this had been brought under cultivation by being reclaimed from waste during the last hundred years, and, when reclaimed, the Enclosure Acts made them liable to tithes. When they reclaimed them from the waste, Parliament declared that a tithe should be devoted to the Church. In the reign of Edward VI. a General Enclosure Act was passed, and at that time the were only six millions of acres of land under cultivation, so that four-fifths of all the land which was being cultivated had been subject to tithes under the Enclosure Act. They had as much right to determine that although that property had been devoted to the Church, it should now be devoted to great secular purposes, in which the whole nation was interested; they had as much right as he had to say that the money he had given to some missionary society he would now give to an hospital. (Cheers.) Let him express a hope that every Nonconformist, in that hall and out of it, would, within the circle of his own personal influence, endeavour to give to this motion his hearty and enthusiastic support. They in Birmingham had been again and again appealed to to take their place in the front of this great movement. They did not claim this position for themselves, but if the Nonconformists wanted to know at what conclusion they had arrived, he thought he might speak on behalf of a large number. They intended to use all the resources of their political influence in order to secure as speedy a triumph as possible for religious equality. The Nonconformists of England had fought side by side with Liberal statesmen too long not to be proud of their traditions, and to rejoice in their great and illustrious triumphs. They allied themselves with the Liberal party because they believed that party itself was allied with the cause of justice. (Cheers.) They were resolved upon this—notwithstanding all the loyalty, affection, and admiration with which they regarded the present illustrious leader of that great party, they intended, at all costs, God helping them—though the party itself be broken up—to stand by the side of the principles God had given them, and secure for their children the blessing of that religious equality which they themselves had never enjoyed. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. J. BOND said the appeal of Mr. Dale had placed him under circumstances in which he should be guilty of wickedness if he did not express his convictions on this matter. For a long time the denomination to which he belonged had been neutral, at any rate, on this question. He was not sure if they were not altogether more than neutral. To-night, for the first time for thirty years, a Wesleyan minister had an opportunity of speaking on this point. (Cheers.) From his knowledge of the denomination with which he was connected, he could say that the most vigorous and earnest, and especially the younger portion of that community, were strongly and determinately on the side of those who advocated the separation of the Church from the State in this country. There were those who would express surprise at them in this matter, and say they were in opposition to that which they believed to be the true religion of God, but he could never submit to any imputation of that kind. He was devotedly attached to the religion of Jesus, and was desirous of promoting its success to the utmost of his power. He was most anxious to see the Church of England relieved from the shackles by which it was at present held down. (Applause.) When he saw the present divisions of the Church of England, and that there were to be found men in her anathematising one another—the High Church the Evangelicals, and the Evangelicals the High Church, the Broad Church agreeing with neither—he could not support a system which taught what was declared to be truth in one place and error in another. In supporting such a Church the State was guilty of monstrous immorality. He believed the State had a right to resume the property of that Church. The Church of Christ would never be efficient while it was endowed by pecuniary means extorted by Act of Parliament from the taxpayers. What the Church wanted was the endowment of the Spirit of God, and to be established in the hearts and consciences of men; then she would discharge her duty, and be a blessing to all those who came under her influence. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, in moving the appointment of delegates to the Conference of the Liberation Society, said he was of opinion that as Nonconformists they had great grievances still to complain of. (Cheers.) He claimed this great reform to complete and to supersede all those measures of relief and toleration—measures of toleration which had not entirely relieved them, and measures of toleration which had become, in consequence of the arrogance and assumption by which they were accompanied, almost as intolerable as the grievance which they were to remove. (Applause.) It was quite true that the power of clerical persecution had been broken, but the principle of clerical supremacy still remained. The property of the Church was supposed to amount to no less than ten millions sterling a year, which was now retained for the support of the Establishment, the supremacy of a caste which had almost invariably thrown its voice and great influence into the scale against the public weal. (Hear, hear.) The State Church was now, as it always had been, the faithful ally of the landowners in their mistaken policy of protection. Their last joint act had been the great measure of National Education, which was made a tool for sectarian purposes. It had spoiled a great measure and retarded an urgent reform, in seeking its own private claims, and maintaining its so-called vested interests. There was no sympathy between the Church and the people; and they found that instead of relying on the voluntary zeal of its own members, they applied the money of the State to sectarian purposes and uses. (Applause.)

The Rev. J. J. BROWN seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously, and the meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the deputation and the chairman.

MEETING AT SHOREDITCH.

A crowded meeting of the inhabitants of Shoreditch was held on Wednesday night, in the Town-hall, Shoreditch, for the purpose of hearing the arguments in favour of Mr. Miall's motion for the Disestablishment of the Church of England, Wales, and Scotland. Mr. WILLIAM GREEN, member of the Metropolitan School Board, occupied the chair, and said that he believed that there ought to be perfect religious equality in the country. That could not be as long as there was an Established Church, and he hoped that Mr. Miall's resolution would ultimately obtain general support. It was for the interest of the Church herself that she should be free from the State, and he felt certain that the day was not far distant when the clergy of the Church would feel that they could subsist without a support tainted with injustice. The Rev. T. VINCENT TYMMS, Baptist, who moved the first resolution in favour of disestablishment, referred to some of the old arguments in favour of the union of Church and State, and to the opposition of the Establishment to popular interests. Mr. J. CARVELL WILLIAMS seconded the resolution in a speech in which he argued that the State Church was an injury to the Church as well as to the State. The resolution was supported by by Mr. R. M. CARTER, M.P., also spoke upon the financial aspect of the question, giving several instances of the maladministration of Church property.

The Rev. F. W. BOURNE, in moving the second resolution in favour of Mr. Miall's motion, said that he believed that the time had come when something might be done. The state of public opinion warranted the introduction into Parliament. The measure had, it must not be forgotten, its neutral friends as well as its neutral enemies. The Rev. CHARLES STOVEL seconded the resolution.

The third resolution was moved by Mr. TEMPLETON, as follows:—"That to promote the work of disestablishment, this meeting appoints the following gentlemen as delegates to the approaching Triennial Conference of the Liberation Society, viz., Rev. F. W. Bourne, Rev. J. A. Picton, Mr. Hartley, and Mr. Turner." Mr. J. HAGGIS seconded the resolution in a very able speech. The Rev. J. ROGERS, of Clapham, supported it in a manner that elicited frequent cheers. A vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the proceedings.

FAIRFORD.—A meeting in connection with the Liberation Society was held in the Crofton Hall, Fairford, on Friday last, to consider the advisability of sending delegates to the Triennial Conference to be held in London in May next. The Rev. J. Frise (Baptist) was unanimously voted to the chair. Mr. Frise, in opening the meeting, offered

a few remarks with reference to the object of the Society, expressing at the same time his entire sympathy with it. Mr. C. T. Kingsley moved the following resolution:—"That the Rev. Charles McCarthy, minister of the Free Church of England, Cheltenham, together with Captain J. Milbourne, Fairford, be appointed by this meeting to represent the town of Fairford at the Triennial Conference of the Liberation Society, to be held in London on the 2nd and 3rd of May next, and that Mr. McCarthy be requested as soon after the Conference as possible to lecture on the subject in this neighbourhood." This resolution was seconded by Mr. Garlick, and carried unanimously. It was then moved by Captain Milbourne, seconded by the Rev. A. James (Congregational), and also carried unanimously—"That this meeting, believing that nothing short of disestablishment will meet the requirements of the times, pledges itself in every way possible to support the Liberation Society in its laudable efforts to free the Church of England from the trammels of State control."

THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOTION.

At the meeting of the General Committee of the Leicestershire and Rutland Congregational Union, held at Bond-street Chapel, Leicester, on Monday week, the following resolution was carried:—

That this Committee, which represents twenty-four churches of the Congregational Order in the Counties of Leicester and Rutland, believing the patronage and control of religion by the State to be injurious to religion and productive of many political inconveniences, rejoices that Mr. Miall has given notice of a motion in the House of Commons affirming that the disestablishment and disendowment of the Episcopal Church of England is desirable, and earnestly hopes that Mr. Miall's motion will receive the support of the Liberal and Nonconformist members of the House.

At a meeting of the South Leicestershire Union of Baptist Churches held at Oldham, on Thursday, a resolution was adopted to the effect that the Union, feeling injustice is done to Nonconformists by the position assumed and maintained by the Episcopal Church, established by law, urges upon the House of Commons the expediency of taking speedy measures for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England.

At the annual meetings of the Monmouthshire English Baptist Association, held on the 11th and 12th, the following resolution was adopted:—"That this Conference, being convinced that the union of Church and State is unscriptural and injurious, and that the existence of the Established Church in Wales is open to special objections, rejoices in the announcement by E. Miall, Esq., M.P., of a motion in the House of Commons for the disestablishment and disendowment of the State Church in England and Wales; and that the secretary forward a copy of this resolution to Sir J. W. Ramsden, Bart., M.P., urgently soliciting him to support the motion."

On Thursday evening the annual public meeting in connection with the Leeds Association of Congregational Churches, was held in the schoolroom attached to Salem Chapel. The chair was taken by Mr. E. Butler. There was a large attendance, and many ministers were present. In the course of his opening speech, the chairman said they had had the autonomy of churches to preserve, independent churches, and they had also to stand up for the truth that all consciences are free before God—liberty of conscience before God; and they believed not only that this truth was given to their sect to preserve, but also that the times called them now to the front, and when they were called to the front, he believed they were not afraid to go. (Applause.) They were going to the front with their banner. They believed that their regiment now had to lead, that the rights of conscience were now going to be considered in all parts of the Church of Christ, and they were not at all afraid of the work that was obviously given them to do. In the name of conscience they were not afraid to assail national establishments of religion. (Applause.) They would bear their part manfully, he was persuaded, in the coming years, in respect to this matter, and they should not be afraid, when the time came to support their leader, Mr. Miall, in what he was going to do. (Applause.) The process against Charles the First was taken in the name of the king, and so they would commence their assaults upon the Established Church in the name of religion.

At the annual meeting of the Congregational Union of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, held at Bristol on Wednesday and Thursday last week, the following resolution was moved by the Rev. S. Hebditch, and seconded by the Rev. J. W. Sampson, and carried unanimously:—"That this Union hails with great satisfaction the prospect of a discussion in the House of Commons of the expediency of extending to England and Scotland the policy of disestablishment and disendowment lately inaugurated in Ireland, and it offers to Edward Miall, Esq., M.P., its hearty congratulations and thanks for his courageous and well-timed determination to call the attention of the British Legislature to this great question."

LIBERATION SOCIETY'S TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE.

FURTHER LIST OF DELEGATES.

Notices of the appointment of the following delegates to the Conference have been received since our last issue, and up to yesterday morning:—

I. Public Bodies.

Leicester and Rutland Congregational Union—Mr. G. Anderson. Mr. Ewing, the Rev. R. Hurley, the Rev. J. N. Robjohns.

Bible Christian Committee—Mr. Wm. Luke, the Rev. F. W. Bourne, Mr. J. B. Vanstone.

Midland Baptist Association—The Rev. J. J. Brown, A. J. Allbutt, Esq., Wm. Greenway, Esq.

Hampshire Congregational Union—The Rev. Joseph Fletcher.

Southern Baptist Association—The Rev. George Williams.

Suffolk Congregational Union—Manning Prentice, Esq., John Cook, Esq.

South Devon Congregational Union—The Rev. W. Currie, the Rev. J. D. Davies, M.A.

Baptist Association at Salisbury—The Rev. F. Wills.

II. London and Country.

Accrington—The Rev. Charles Williams, Thomas Haworth, Esq., the Rev. W. H. Wylie.

Allerton—Mr. C. Robertshaw.

Bradford, Yorks (Hallfield Chapel)—The Rev. James Mursell, G. Osborn, Esq.

Bradford (Committee)—Mr. Alderman West, Mr. Councillor E. Holden, Mr. Councillor Priestley, Robert Kell, Esq., Isaac Holden, Esq., W. Whitehead, Esq., S. Watmuff, Esq., Arthur Briggs, Esq., C. Turner, Esq., Mr. James Hanson, Mr. J. G. Best, Mr. Richard Taylor, Mr. Elias Thomas.

Bradford (Westgate Church)—B. Smith, Esq., John Marshall, Esq., Mr. Thomas Anderson, Mr. John Akam.

Bradford (Manningham Liberal Association)—H. R. Halstead, Esq., Thos. Greenwood, Esq.

Brampton—The Rev. L. Llewellyn, W. Woolstenholme, Esq.

Buckden—Mr. W. Mann.

Blisworth—The Rev. G. Jarman, Mr. Joseph Westgate.

Brompton—The Rev. J. Upton Davis.

Burnley—Mr. Alderman Kay, Mr. Councillor Berry.

Belper—J. C. Cox, Esq., J.P.

Bridgewater—Mr. J. W. Sully.

Birmingham (Charles Henry Church)—Mr. David King.

Birmingham (Summer-lane Church)—Mr. S. Jenkins.

Boxmoor and Hemel Hempstead—The Rev. H. C. Leonard, M.A., the Rev. J. Foston.

Cambridge—The Rev. W. Robinson, the Rev. J. Ward, Neville Goodman, Esq., W. E. Lilley, Esq., W. Bond, Esq., Mr. W. G. Chater, Mr. M. J. Whibley, Mr. A. Macintosh.

Colchester—The Rev. T. W. Davids, Mr. Thomas Barrett, Mr. J. B. Harvey, Mr. H. Thompson, Mr. James Wicks, jun., Mr. J. Hurnard.

Coventry—The Rev. E. C. Pike, B.A., Thomas Hill, Esq., Mr. John Atkins.

Christchurch—The Rev. Joseph Fletcher, F. Morer, Esq., R. D. Sharp, Esq., Charles Aldridge, Esq.

Camberwell—The Rev. W. K. Rowe.

Clifton—The Rev. J. H. Hinton, M.A.

Chinnor—The Rev. B. Bond.

Cirencester—The Rev. J. J. Brown.

Cuckfield—The Rev. J. Stuchbery, B.A., G. Knott, Esq., LL.B., F.R.A.S., Daniel Pratt, Esq.

Chesham—The Rev. J. Cave, Dr. Harding.

Cleckheaton—Mr. John Ellis, Mr. B. H. Goldthorp.

Clapton—The Rev. T. V. Tymms, Mr. W. R. Rickett.

Chart Sutton—Mr. Robert Childrens.

Deptford—The Rev. J. S. Anderson, J. O. Kennard, Esq., W. Brain, Esq., J. McRitchue, Esq.

Devonport—The Rev. Dr. Stock.

Daventry—The Rev. Thos. Adams, E.A. Briggs, Esq., Mr. Charles Rodhouse.

Dewsbury—S. Crawshaw, Esq., Robert Greenwood, Esq., J. E. Lee, Esq.

Downton—Wr. M. W. Taunton.

East Dereham—The Rev. W. Freeman, Mr. R. Bates.

Fairford—Captain T. Milbourne, the Rev. C. McCarthy.

Farnworth—Thos. Barnes, Esq.

Great Shelford—The Rev. B. J. Evans, the Rev. M. C. Uffen.

Great Staughton—Mr. Lofts.

Greenwich—J. T. Olney, Esq., W. C. Harvey, Esq., the Rev. B. Davies.

Guildford—A. Goodman, Esq., G. Taylor, Esq., Mr. E. W. Martin.

Godalming—The Mayor, T. Simpson, Esq., W. Sisley, Esq.

Glasgow—The Rev. W. Monson, B.A., G. Pearson, Esq., A. Sinclair, Esq.

Gospel Oak Church—The Rev. R. H. Smith, F. Y. Edwards, Esq.

Horton, Bradford—The Rev. J. P. Robertson.

Huntingdon—B. Brown Esq., M. Foster, Esq., Mr. W. S. Baker, Mr. T. Clark. Mr. T. M. Hunter, Mr. T. B. Ridgley, Mr. Gates, Mr. John Cooper, Mr. James Dean, Mr. W. Peacock, Mr. W. Todd.

Highgate—The Rev. J. H. Barnard.

Hendon—The Rev. T. Fison, B.A, Morell Theobald, Esq., John Smart, Esq.

Haverhill—D. Gurteen, Esq., D. Gurteen, Esq., jun.

Hanley—The Mayor.

Holloway, Upper—The Rev. S. H. Booth, Mr. G. Thomas, Mr. A. M. Chadwick.

Horncastle—The Rev. B. Nicholson, Mr. Thomas D. Briggs.

Kettering (Fuller Chapel)—The Rev. J. B. Myers, Mr. G. Osborn, Mr. F. Wallis.

Kennington—The Rev. J. Marchant, James Nicholls, Esq.

Kipping (Bradford)—J. Craven, Esq.

Kingston and Surbiton—The Rev. G. Blinkhorn, J. Marsh, Esq.

Leicester (Committee additional)—Mr. W. Collier.

Leicester (Gallowtree Gate Chapel additional)—Mr. T. H. Downing, Mr. G. Royce.

Leicester (Bond-street Church)—The Rev. R. Harley, F.R.S., F.R.A.S., Mr. W. H. Bates, Mr. S. Grundy, Mr. H. Lankester, Mr. G. Anderson.

Leeds (Committee)—Mr. Alderman Carter, M.P., Edward Butler, Esq., the Rev. J. Compton, the Rev. T. J. Gale, the Rev. A. H. Byles, the Rev. Dr. S. G. Green, Mr. John Andrew, the Rev. G. B. Thomas.

Leeds (South Parade Church)—The Rev. W. Best, B.A., Mr. W. Illingworth.

Liverpool—S. Cearne, Esq., W. M. Lawrence, Esq., W. Crosfield, jun., Esq., E. Mounsey, Esq., R. C. Carter, Esq., Thomas Parley, Esq., the Rev. W. Sanderson, the Rev. A. S. Parry, G. Golding, Esq.

Llanbynmair—J. Griffith, Esq.

Llanfyllin—Mr. C. R. Jones.

Maisey Hampton—C. T. Kingsley, Esq., the Rev. G. Charlesworth.

Market Harboro'—the Rev. Wm. Clarkson, Mr. Joseph Nunneley, Mr. Wm. Buswell.

Macclesfield—Mr. Councillor Dawson, Mr. John Small, Mr. J. W. White, Mr. J. O. Nicholson.

Maidstone—The Rev. G. B. Maclellan, Robert Barling, Esq.

Melbourne—Mr. J. Hunt, Mr. W. Cook, Mr. H. W. Earp.

Metropolitan Tabernacle—The Rev. J. A. Spurgeon, Mr. John Rains, Mr. W. Payne, Mr. C. Blackshaw, Mr. J. Green, Mr. B. W. Carr, Mr. T. H. Olney, Mr. T. Greenwood, Mr. J. L. Keys, Mr. J. T. Dunn.

Manchester (Committee)—B. Whitworth, Esq.; Henry Lee, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. McKerrow, R. Johnson, Esq.; the Rev. J. A. Macfadyen, M.A.; Thos. Roberts, Esq.; the Rev. T. C. Finlayson, J. B. McKerrow, Esq.; E Lewis, Esq.

Manchester Young Men's Committee—Mr. J. S. Davies.

Nayland—W. Stannard, Esq.

Norwich—The Rev. G. Gould, the Rev. T. A. Wheeler, the Rev. J. Scott, Mr. C, Frazer, Mr. W. W. Dakin, Mr. J. D. Smith, E. Tillyard, Esq.; R. K. Tillyard, Esq.

Newcastle-on-Tyne—Henry Angus, Esq.; Thomas Gray, Esq.; E. S. Hills, Esq.

Northampton—The Mayor, the Rev. Thomas Arnold, Mr. Henry Marshall, Mr. J. Robinson, Mr. James Ellard, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Barton, Mr. E. Evans.

Over—The Rev. S. Shaw, the Rev. M. W. Flanders.

Orsett—Mr. Turner, Mr. A. Woollings.

Plaistow—Mr. Griffiths, the Rev. D. Alexander.

Plymouth and Devonport—Mr. P. Adams, Mr. T. B. Tyeth, Mr. T. Nicholson, Mr. R. C. Serpell, the Rev. E. B. Hickman, the Rev. J. Stock, the Rev. W. Currie.

Ramsgate—The Rev. J. R. Hargreaves.

Reading—The Rev. John Wood, the Rev. C. M. Longhurst, R. Worsley, Esq.; A. R. Eisdell, Esq.; J. O. Cooper, Esq.; Mr. John Kidgell.

Shaftesbury—The Rev. G. J. Woodward.

Stukeley—Mr. D. Woodford.

Shoreditch—The Rev. J. A. Picton, M.A., Mr. F. J. Hartley, the Rev. F. W. Bourne, Mr. J. Turner.

Stoke Newington—The Rev. W. H. Drewett, the Rev. Robert Simpson, Mr. James Townley.

St. Mary Cray—The Rev. R. E. Forsaith, Mr. Stranger, Mr. Hosmer.

Stamford-street (Unitarian Church)—Samuel Sharpe, Esq., S. S. Tayler, Esq.

Salford—W. Warburton, Esq.

Swansea—The Rev. T. Levi, Mr. Alderman Phillips.

Stirling—Mr. Thomas Muir.

Salendine Nook—Mr. J. Calverley, Mr. Robert McShaw, Mr. Alfred Dixon, Mr. Henry Tedale, Mr. B. Hathersley.

Torquay—The Rev. W. Horder.

Tottenham—The Rev. T. T. Gough, Mr. W. Carpenter, jun.

Thame—The Rev. T. G. M. Inglis, Mr. S. J. Johnson, Mr. J. Marsh.

Teddington—The Rev. J. Sugden, Mr. R. Tozer.

Uckfield—The Rev. Jenkin Jones.

Woodham Feiris—Mr. Henry Pertwee, Mr. Thomas Main.

Witham—Mr. R. W. Dixon, Mr. Alfred Sayer, Mr. Thomas Smith.

Wolverhampton—The Rev. Jas. Stewart, Thos. Bantock, Esq., S. Dickinson, Esq., the Rev. W. H. Charlesworth, Henry Marten, Esq., S. S. Mander, Esq.

Woolwich (Committee)—Mr. E. Davis, Mr. Josiah Barrat, Mr. Wm. Davis, the Rev. H. Hercus, Mr. W. Topley, Mr. Charles J. Barrat, Mr. B. Wates.

Woolwich (Parson's-hill Church)—The Rev. J. M. Camp, Mr. Robinson.

Wanstead—James Bishop, Esq.

Worcester—Mr. Thos. Westcombe.

Wrexham—The Rev. F. B. Brown, the Rev. J. B. Brasted.

Wallingford—The Rev. Thomas Brooks, H. Hawkins, Esq., J.P., Mr. Oldham, Mr. W. Payne.

Whitehaven—Mr. W. Kitchin.

Whitechapel—Mr. John Young, Mr. W. Bowler.

Walsall—Mr. R. Burn, jun.

THE IRISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND PRAYER-BOOK REVISION.

The debate on the revision of the Prayer-book commenced in the Church Synod on Thursday. Master Brooke proposed the first recommendation of the Revision Committee, namely, that in the Communion Service the words "Body and Blood of Christ" have only a heavenly and spiritual meaning. Sir John Blundell moved an amendment to the effect that the time is inopportune for making changes. Lord O'Neill seconded the amendment, which was supported by the Rev. Henry Jellett and others, who contended that it was premature, as they were now only in the infancy of organising the Church; and the only result would be to expel some of the clergy. Professor Jellett was as anxious as anybody for "close and intimate connection with the Church of England," but "he would say this—and he believed he was speaking in the name of Irish Protestants—if that connection was to be purchased by leaving within their walls a shelter for Ritualism, he would not buy it at that price." (Applause.) The Irish people, he added, were waiting in silent, anxious expectation on the result of their deliberations.

On a proposition being made in the Synod in favour of the adoption of the recommendations of the English Ritual Commission, dissent was expressed by the Bishop of Down on the ground that the Lectionary had not yet become the law of the land. He would "wait and see what the English Church would do." Archdeacon Stopford "believed the Synod would never allow itself to be led by any other body in the world." Master Brooke "most strongly protested against taking the Government of England as their authority in deciding this or any other question." This "protest" was cheered. "We have had enough of English legislation," exclaimed Mr. Dane.

On Friday Mr. Norwood quoted from speeches of the Bishops of Ossory and Derry, and other members who now supported the amendment, declaring the present time inopportune for revision, to show that in the last year's Convention they had urged delay, on the ground that the present Synod was the proper tribunal to deal with the question. The Dean of Clonfert said what they required was to enact proper canons, and have proper courts to check those who indulged in ritualistic practices. The Dean of Cashel, who had been a member of Master Brooke's committee, and had supported the proposed alteration, now opposed it, saying that the excitement on the subject was altogether imaginary. The Bishop of Meath, on the part of all the bishops, supported the amendment, and said that although they could say the present was not the time for revision, they could not say when the time would be. The speaker was impatiently heard. There was a majority of both orders against the amendment. On Master Brooke's motion being put as a substantive motion, however, there was not a sufficient majority of clergymen, the numbers being clergy, ayes, 117; noes, 79; laity, ayes, 272; noes, 35. The motion was accordingly lost, inasmuch as by the Statutes of Convention no change can be made in the formularies, rubrics, or doctrines of the Church, unless by consent of the majority of two-thirds of each order present and voting. All the bishops were present except the Bishop of Cashel, and by the statutes, even if a clerical majority had been sufficient, the bishops would have had the right of veto.

The "Reformers," as they are called, brought up the whole subject afresh yesterday (Tuesday), upon the second of the re-solutions, which repudiates any idea of "adoration to any presence of Christ or of Christ's fleshand blood, supposed to be in the elements after orby virtue of their consecration." The debate was adjourned to Fridoy.

THE POPE AND THE INFALLIBILITY QUESTION.

Dr. Dollinger was excommunicated on the 18th, by the Archbishop of Munich.

The Bavarian Professor Sepp, heretofore one of the greatest champions of Ultramontanism in Germany, has pronounced for Dr. Dollinger.

The Professors of the Roman University have sent an address to Dr. Dollinger avowing their unqualified acceptance of Dr. Dollinger's views, and protest against the inference that Italian Catholics agree with the Roman Curia. They believe in the reconcilability of modern science with Christianity, and insist on the necessity of a reformation of the Romish Church, which for three centuries, they say, has been really identified with the Jesuits. The address concludes:—

For these reasons we welcome your voice with hope, and pray for your just cause which is also ours, and that of all Christian civilisation. And we say this to you publicly, in order that in the future, in your free and equitable judgment, you may separate the responsibility of our people from that of the Italian episcopate. The episcopacy which dwells in our land is of no country, and has nothing in common with the Italian people. The Syllabus, Infallibility, Papal autocracy—all those negations of Divine and human reason—compose a system which has no connection with the Italian character, with Italian thought. Our Roman, that is to say Italian, race abhors as much as the Germanic race that evil system of the bondage of the understanding. Italian morality is no longer that of the sixteenth century, and we know to-day that for the sacred cause of reform the German and the Italian people will fight and conquer together.

Professor Friedrich has replied to the Theological Faculty of Munich in the Vienna *Presse*. He declares that he cannot accept the dogma of infallibility of the Pope, as by doing so he should violate both his ecclesiastical vow and the oath he had sworn to respect the Constitution. Every Catholic, he acknowledges, is bound to accept the decision of a general council, but he denies that the sitting of the 18th of last July bore the character of Œcumenicity, and considers the mode of voting *per majora* then employed illegal. The subsequent submission of the bishops did not suffice to render the decision binding, as the invalid acts of one council can only be remedied by summoning another.

It is officially rumoured that the Wurtemburg Government does not accord any legal status in State or civic affairs to the resolutions of the Œcumenical Council promulgated by the Constitutions of the 24th April and the 18th of July, especially in so far as they relate to Papal Infallibility.

The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna publishes a telegram from Rome, which states that the health of the Pope was causing apprehension. The same telegrams assert that a crisis in the affairs of the Roman Church appeared imminent, and that the Roman Conclave would probably meet at some place outside of Rome.

The Liberation Society's Public Meeting.—We need not renew the expression of a hope that the approaching Triennial Conference of the Liberation Society will be well attended; for the lists of delegates appearing in our columns remove all doubt on that point. But we wish to call the attention of our metropolitan readers, especially, to the announcement of the public meeting, with which the Conference proceedings are to close, next Wednesday evening. It will be seen that the Executive Committee have—wisely, we think, abandoned the idea of a select *soiree*, and have resolved on holding a meeting at which large numbers can attend, and that they have secured one of the largest, and, perhaps, the very best, public building for the purpose in the metropolis, viz., the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Looking to the great interest which the Society's movement now excites; to the coming motion for disestablishment, and to the guarantee for effective speaking which the committee's programme affords, we shall be both surprised and disappointed if this does not prove the greatest and the most enthusiastic gathering which the Society has ever had in the metropolis.

Return from Romanism.—According to prior announcement the Rev. J. M. Capes, who has returned from the Church of Rome to that of England, preached at St. James's Chapel, York-street, St. James's-square, on Thursday. Mr. Gladstone, Lord Elcho, and many other members of the Legislature, were present. Not a word in his discourse had reference to the change in his views.

What the Protest Against the Purchas Judgment Means.—The question at issue is whether the celebrant at the communion service is a minister breaking bread with the people, or a priest offering the continuing sacrifice for the people. If the fight between north side and west side does not mean this, it mean even less than did the party divisions of Lilliput between the breakers of an egg at the big end or little end. But it does mean this. The protest of five thousand clergymen against the Purchas judgment really declares that five thousand clergymen want to say mass in English churches. Of course there are many among those who do not know what they are really about; many who engage in the fight from a variety of pugnacious motives. But a great movement must be judged by its necessary scope and tendency, and that is undeniable.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

The Ritualists and the Purchas Judgment.—We *(Record)* are informed that the Rev. Richard Temple West on Sunday announced in his morning sermon at St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington, that he has given the Bishop of London formal notice that he does not intend to comply with the requirements of the late decision of the Judges of Her Majesty's Privy Council in the Purchas case. Mr. West also launched out against the unfitness of a court of appeal consisting of judges nominated at pleasure by a Lord Chancellor to try ecclesiastical causes, and invited signatures to a petition fer its abolition which has been spread out in his church for some weeks. The Bishop of Manchester was at Radcliffe, on Saturday, for the purpose of consecrating an addition to the parish churchyard. At the luncheon which followed, he referred incidentally to the necessity of enforcing judgments as laid down by the Supreme Court of Appeal. He confessed his dislike to the necessity, but thought the only security against anarchy and dissolution was loyal obedience to the law.

Religious and Denominational News.

Mr. William Joshua Houlgate, of Airedale College, Bradford, has accepted a cordial invitation from the church and congregation worshipping in the Congregational Church, Deardengate, Haslingden, near Manchester, to become their pastor.

The Rev. Thomas Hamer, late assistant minister at Ward Chapel, Dundee, has accepted a cordial invitation to the pastorate of the Cheetham-hill, Congregational church, Manchester, rendered vacant by the removal of the Rev. G. W. Conder, to Forest-hill, Sydenham.

Wesleyan.—Sir Francis Lycett on Thursday laid the memorial stone of a new Wesleyan Chapel, which is about to be erected at Wood-green. This is the first of fifty chapels which the Wesleyan Connexion have determined to build in London and the suburbs during the next ten years.

Spring-hill College.—On Tuesday, April 18th, the Rev. Edward White visited Spring-hill College, and in the afternoon met the professors and students in the library. Dr. Simon presided, and the proceedings took the form of a conversation, in which Mr. White sustained the principal part; Dr. Simon, the Rev. W. F. Callaway (of Birmingham), and others, also engaged. The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks.

The Old Gravel-pit Chapel, Homerton.—The closing services in this ancient place of worship were held on Sunday, April 23, 1871. Sermons were preached by two members of the church, the Rev. Alfred Carter, B.A., of Upminster, Essex, and Mr. Charles Edward Baines Reed, B.A., Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Since the reopening of this chapel in 1811, the Rev. Dr. Pye Smith, the Rev. John Davies, and the Rev. Dr. Spence, have held the pastorate.

Surrey Chapel.—Lord Shaftesbury presided on Wednesday night at a public meeting at Surrey Chapel on occasion of the reopening after repairs, and spoke of the importance of maintaining such an organisation of education, philanthropy, and religion amongst the masses of the artisan population, too much separated from the wealthier classes, who more and more resided at a distance. The meeting was then addressed by the Rev. S. Minton and the Rev. W. Pennefather, who, as Episcopalians, expressed their goodwill towards all who were labouring in the common cause of religion; by the Rev. J. Forster, of Claylands Chapel; the Rev. W. Braden, of Weigh House Chapel; Thomas Chambers, Esq., M.P., S. Plimsoll, Esq., M.P., and by the Rev. Newman Hall, the pastor of the church, who stated that in the contemplated rebuilding at the expiration of the lease they fully resolved to remain within reach of the poorer population, where their labours were most needed. A selection of sacred music was given by the choir.

King's Weigh House Chapel.—A service in connection with the recognition of the Rev. W. Braden, as pastor of the Weigh House Church, in succession to the Rev. Thos. Binney, was held on Tuesday evening last week. Mr. Binney presided, as was most fitting, and, after reading of the Scripture and prayer by the Rev. J. C. Harrison, introduced the business of the evening. He said that the history of that place of worship went back over 200 years, the first minister having come out of the Establishment in the ejectment of 1662. There had been a long succession of men of some eminence in their day who had presided over that church, and it was remarkable for the length of time its pastors had served it. Of the new minister Mr. Binney spoke in terms of the fullest confidence and the highest esteem and affection. We all have the conviction, said Mr. Binney, that we have the right man in the right place. Dr. Cooke, as the oldest member of the church, and representative of the diaconate, spoke a few words of hearty welcome. Mr. Braden then ascended the pulpit and delivered himself in a frank, manly way, concerning his personal, religious, and ministerial life and conscientious religious convictions. Dr. Stoughton invoked the Divine blessing to rest on the pastor and his connection with the church, after which the Rev. Henry Allon gave a brotherly welcome to the young minister, coupled with words of experience and implied counsel on the peculiarities of a London pastorate. Dr. Raleigh added a few sentences in the same strain. The Rev. E. Mannering followed with an address on "Church Fellowship in London," and the Rev. A. M'Auslane on "Church Work in London," and the service was brought to a close by prayer. There were a number of ministers present beside those who took part in the service, and letters of cordial greeting were read from the Rev. Dr. Reynolds, President of Cheshunt College, and the Rev. Dr. Parker, "the nearest neighbour" to the Weigh House pastor. It is stated that the congregations have steadily increased under the present ministry.

Omar Pasha, the Commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, died on Tuesday. He was of Crost origin, and was born in the village of Plaski in 1806.

The building known as the Congregational Library in Blomfield-street, Moorfields, was destroyed by fire on Friday night. The valuable Nonconformist Library had, however, been removed pending the erection of the Memorial Hall, and no property of any value was upon the premises.

Michael Torpey was on Thursday committed for trial at the Old Bailey for stealing Messrs. London and Ryder's jewels, and chloroforming their assistant. Mr. Ryder, who was called as a witness, said the prisoner told him that it was only by an accident that he (Mr. Ryder) had been the victim. It was Mr. Emmanuel that he meant to rob. Mr. Ryder said the property not recovered amounted to 1,500*l.* When the prisoner was searched at the police-station a diamond worth 25*l.* was found sewn up in the waistband of his trousers. This he acknowledged was Mr. Ryder's property, and said that he intended it for his wife. He reserved his defence.

ANNIVERSARIES IN APRIL AND MAY, 1871.

DAY.	HOUR.	INSTITUTION OR SOCIETY.	CHAIRMAN.	PLACE OF ASSEMBLY.
APRIL—				
27 Thurs.	2½ p.m.	Society for Propagat. of the Gospel	The Bishop of Ely	Willis's Rooms.
	6 p.m.	Baptist Missionary Society	W. Fowler, Esq., M.P.	Exeter Hall.
28 Friday	7 p.m.	Baptist Miss. Socy.—Young Men's	G. T. Kemp, Esq.	Walworth-road Chapel.
29 Sat.	9 a.m.	Wesleyan Miss. Society (Breakfst)	James S. Sutcliffe, Esq.	City Term. Hotel, Cannon-st.
MAY—				
1 Mon.	11 a.m.	Wesleyan Missionary Society	James S. Budgett, Esq.	Exeter Hall.
	1½ p.m.	Home and Colonial School Society	Earl of Chichester	Institution, Gray's-inn-road.
	6½ p.m.	National Temperance League	E. Baines, Esq., M.P.	Exeter Hall.
2 Tues.	11 a.m.	Church Missionary Society	Earl of Chichester	Exeter Hall.
	6 p.m.	Primitive Methodist Miss. Society	Henry Hodge, Esq.	Metropolitan Tabernacle.
	6 p.m.	Wesleyan Home Missions	W. W. Pocock, Esq.	City-road Chapel.
	6½ p.m.	British and Foreign Sailors' Society	Marquis of Cholmondeley	Sailors' Institute, Shadwell.
3 Wed.	11 a.m.	British and Foreign Bible Society	Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.	Exeter Hall.
	7 p.m.	Ragged Church and Chapel Union	Robert Baxter, Esq.	Exeter Hall.
	7 p.m.	Christian Instruction Society		Finsbury Chapel.
	11 a.m.	London City Mission	Joseph Hoare, Esq.	Exeter Hall.
4 Thurs.	2 p.m.	Church Pastoral-Aid Society	Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.	St. James's Hall.
	5½ p.m.	The Book Society	Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.	Guildhall Coffee House.
	6 p.m.	Sunday School Union	Hon. A. F. Kinnaird, M.P.	Exeter Hall.
5 Friday	11 a.m.	Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews	Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.	Exeter Hall.
	6½ p.m.	Religious Tract Society	Bishop of Ripon	Exeter Hall.
8 Mon.	12 noon.	British and Foreign School Society	Earl Russell, K.G.	Society House, Borough-road.
	2 p.m.	British Society for Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews	Lord Alfred S. Churchill	St. George's Hall.
	2½ p.m.	Protestant Reformation Society	Lord Oranmore	Willis's Rooms.
	3 p.m.	British and Foreign Sailors' Society	Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor	London Tavern.
	6 p.m.	Ragged School Union	Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.	Exeter Hall.
	7 p.m.	Irish Evangelical Society	Charles Reed, Esq., M.P.	Finsbury Chapel.
9 Tues.	6 a.m.	Young Men's Christian Association	George Williams, Esq.	165, Aldersgate-street.
	8½ a.m.	Irish Church Missions	Bishop of Ripon	St. James's Hall, Piccadilly.
	9½ a.m.	Congregational Union	Rev. Thomas Jones	Finsbury Chapel.
	3 p.m.	Christian Vernacular Educ. Society	Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.	Willis's Rooms.
	7 p.m.	Home Missionary Society (Welsh)	Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P.	Finsbury Chapel.
10 Wed.	2½ p.m.	Colonial and Continental Church Society	Marquis of Cholmondeley	St. James's Hall.
	5½ p.m.	Congregational Board of Education	Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P.	Lower Clapton Cong. Church.
	6 p.m.	Orphan Working School, Haverstock-hill	John Kemp Welch, Esq.	London Tavern.
	10 and 2	Church Association Conference		Willis's Rooms.
	6½ p.m.	Evangelical Continental Society	H. Richard, Esq., M.P.	Finsbury Chapel.
11 Thurs.	10 a.m.	London Missionary Society	Sir Bartle Frere, K.C.B.	Exeter Hall.
	6½ p.m.	Colonial Missionary Society	Rev. Thomas Binney	Weigh-house Chapel.
18 Thurs.	12 noon.	Alexandra Orphanage for Infants		City Term. Hotel, Cannon-st.
23 Tues.	6½ p.m.	Peace Society	J. W. Pease, Esq., M.P.	Finsbury Chapel.
24 Wed.	6 p.m.	Refuges for Homeless Children and Chichester Training Ship	Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.	Exeter Hall.
26 Friday	12 noon.	London Aged Christian Society	Marquis of Cholmondeley	32, Sackville-st., Piccadilly.
27 Sat.	2 p.m.	Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	Earl Harrowby, K.G.	St. James's Hall.
29 Mon.	7½ p.m.	British Anti-Tobacco Society	William Cooke, Esq., M.D.	Exeter Hall.
30 Tues.		Friends of Clergy Corporation	Major-General Boileau	Willis's Rooms.

Among the special sermons which will be preached are the following:—Tract Society, Rev. J .G. Rogers, B.A., Congregational Chapel, Clapham (April 30th); Bible Society, Rev. J. O. Dykes, Presbyterian Church, Regent-square (30th), and Westminster Abbey (30th); Sunday School Union, Rev. Dr. Barry, St. James's, Clerkenwell (May 2) and Rev. A. M'Auslane, Finsbury Chapel (May 3); London Missionary Society, Rev. R. D. Wilson, Surrey Chapel (May 10), and Rev. J. O. Dykes, Westminster Chapel (May 10).

Anniversary Meetings.

THE BAPTIST UNION.

The annual London session of the Baptist Union commenced on Monday morning last in the spacious and beautiful library of the Mission House, Castle-street, Holborn. There was a large gathering of ministers and delegates from all parts of the country, including Scotland. Among them we noticed Drs. Steane, Acworth, Thomas (Pontypool); Landels, Brock, Underhill, Gotch, Angus, Benjamin Davies, and S. G. Green; the Revs. J. H. Hinton, Geo. Gould, J. P. Chown, J. H. Millard, C. Williams, W. Walters, James Mursell, F. Tucker, A. McLaren, F. Trestrail, R. Marten, J. T. Wigner, G. W. Humphreys, David Jones, Evan Edwards, &c.

The session was opened with a prayer-meeting, presided over by Dr. Brock, who took the place of the Rev. W. Robinson, of Cambridge, absent through illness. Prayer was offered by the Revs. G. W. Humphreys, J. Bloomfield, of Gloucester, and Dr. Green, of Rawdon. This meeting was marked by great devoutness and earnestness of spirit, and was a most appropriate opening for the subsequent gatherings.

Dr. BROCK, in introducing the Rev. C. M. Birrell as the Chairman for the present year, very feelingly remarked on the unbroken friendship which had been maintained between Mr. Birrell and himself ever since the days when they were fellow students at Stepney College. He said that it had afforded him very peculiar pleasure in seeing his old college friend about to occupy the position of Chairman of the Baptist Union, a post for which he was eminently qualified. He earnestly hoped that Mr. Birrell's chairmanship would prove a most useful and happy one.

Mr. BIRRELL, in entering upon his duties, heartily thanked Dr. Brock for his kind introduction, and he also tendered his gratitude to his brethren for electing him to the honourable post of chairman to the Union. He trusted that he should receive their kindly consideration and brotherly co-operation.

The Rev. F. TRESTRAIL moved a vote of thanks to the Rev. W. Robinson for the able manner in which he had presided over the Union during the past year. Mr. Trestrail said that he and Mr. Robinson had known each other very intimately ever since 1828, when they met as students in the Baptist College, Bristol. In a few warm, well-chosen words Mr. Trestrail spoke of Mr. Robinson's thorough outspokenness and able, consistent maintenance of his principles. Dr. LANDELS seconded the vote of thanks, and said that the Baptist Union had been very admirably represented in its chairmen. Each one, from Dr. Angus, the one who had first occupied the chair, till now, had represented some distinct phase of the denominational character. And he was sure Mr. Birrell would fully sustain the high standard to which the previous chairman had raised the character of the office. He most heartily seconded the vote of thanks which had been moved to Mr. Robinson. A brief discussion followed on the business arrangements for the Union meeting.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

Mr. BIRRELL remarked that the Baptist Union for the first time held its sittings in the beautiful hall of the Mission House, in a year that is likely enough to be memorable in the religious history of the world. He said, "The error of exaggerating the importance of the age in which we live is one unto which it is at present very difficult to fall. It is, indeed, one thing to fell the solemnity of an epoch and another to give a just interpretation. The current which rushes past in a particular direction within our view, may have its effects modified and reversed by a deeper current which we have never discovered; and speculations which seem to threaten the reliability of the most sacred convictions, may prove to be transcent storms, less perilous than dead calms, which speak only of safety. Yet without claim to peculiar penetration, we may entertain the belief that the time on which we have entered is one which not only needs, but permits in unwonted measure the influence of Christian men in all departments of thought and action; and that a character of special strength and intelligence is consequently required of those who aspire to serve their own generation with fidelity. Let me ask you to glance with me at the times, with the view of ascertaining whether they present any facts in support of this impression:—

THE FEATURES OF THE TIME.

The first look which we obtain of the world does not convey much encouragement. The last two decades have been stained with blood. When the Queen of England, exactly twenty years ago, and stood, crowned on her throne before twenty-five thousand people drawn from nearly all civilised countries, listening to the strain of the "Hallelujah Chorus," not a few in the assembly, under the deep and complex impression of that hour, believed that the day had all but dawned when the "kingdom of this world" should verily become the Kingdom of our God and of His Christ. But scarcely had the music died away, before the thunders of war were heard to roll. England invaded Russia, and left the mutilated bodies of tens of thousands on her dismal shores. Hardly had her ships carried home the fragments of her forces before shrieks reached us from our countrymen in India; and we had scarcely time to re-establish our supremacy before the flames of civil conflict rose up from the American continent. For four years the fires of judgment pursued their purifying work there; and died away only to burst out in the Old World. We have just witnessed a struggle unexampled in history, not only in the intellectual and material forces with which it has been waged, but in the eminence of the civilisation of the combatant nations. The spectacle of two such peoples arresting all other pursuits that they might concentrate their powers on war, and devote God's great gifts to the work of mutual destruction, was enough to appal the spirit and to agitate it, alternately with grief and with shame. But there is a gleam in the darkest night. The history of these wars has not all been written in the public journals, nor do all their results readily meet the eye. They have sunk deeply into thousands of hearts, producing thoughts and purposes to which no other tuition could have given rise. England learned much from her own wars. She has, with a less biassed judgment, probably learned more from those of her neighbours. Times of national disaster have often proved times of moral awakening. It was while Europe was shuddering before the revolutionary violence of France, at the close of the last century, that the Church of God entered upon a new era. The date of that reign of terror and of the birth of great missionary institutions are identical. Neither the political nor the religious impulses of that period are yet spent, and it will be strange if the events of the present times do not renew their power, and propel us with augmented forces to situations of yet unknown advantage to the world. On looking more closely on what lies around us, we discern everywhere signs of advancing religious liberty. Even this is a boon which we owe in some measure to the rude teaching of war. When the Reformation had secured the recognition of the right of individual judgment, and the consequent non-responsibility of man to man for his religious belief, it became absurd to attach penalties to the conclusions which in any case might be reached. But the fierce contests which soon afterwards scourged Germany and England were needed to prove (and did prove) what may have the air of truism, that secular authority cannot control faith, and that men of opposite creeds may live together in the same country. The process of disenthralling society from the evils of the persecuting spirit—most tenacious when most conscientious—has of course been slow; but there is now hardly a civilised State which has not been visited by the suspicion that it is not responsible for the religion of its people, and that it may safely withdraw material support from its religious forms. When even the Papacy of late cried for help, not one of all her crowned lovers thought proper to respond. That fury which once affrighted every throne of Europe, and lighted the fires of vengeance whereever she chose, has now, as a secular power been driven from the earth; while the race which she dominated for a thousand years having with marvellous composure, established a free State proceeds to realise the idea of her foremost statesman in permitting within it a Free Church. In England the course of legislation has steadily developed that principle. There have been times when it has seemed to pause, and even to recede; but the tide has moved forward with the persistence of a natural law. It is perhaps not desirable that it should advance with much greater rapidity. We need not be impatient; the consummation must come, and it is better that it should come by natural growth than by either physical or moral violence. The measures affecting education, both higher and lower, imperfect as they are, and the withdrawment amid unexampled intensity of popular approval from the political maintenauce of a church in the sister country—to say nothing of similar events now casting their shadow upon us—appear to me to present even less occasion of congratulation than of serious searching into our fitness to meet the responsibilities of the time. Our existence is recognised, and we share in the respect paid to our principles. A man is valued according to his personal qualities. His learning is not scorned because it has not been acquired in certain places; his practical ability is not lost to any department of civil life because it is associated with a particular creed; nor is his voice as an investigator and teacher of truth silenced because it is not uttered under ecclesiastical authority. Laws and prejudices which once left in the rear some of the most efficient forces of the nation have passed away, and left them in the front. The field is cleared for action, and nothing can express the importance of our being ready to meet their power.

Mr. Birrell then proceeded at considerable length, and with his usual correctness of discrimination and refinement of taste, to point out that the present age is one marked by its spirit of keen inquiry. "It certainly is not one of those periods in which the authority of great names has paralysed thought, nor one in which a gross materialism has hung like a pall over the faculties of the people. The worship, indeed, of the present world has not diminished. Young men in all ranks and in large numbers continue to be withered by the vulgar ambition of living in affluence; and men from whom the highest services to the world might have come have, through the old spell, fallen into 'temptation and a snare, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.'" But parallel with this stream, and in many parts striking through it, there is a strong and fresh current of intellectual life. Investigation in all fields of thought—in politics, in science, in theology—goes to the foundation of opinions. Some of the most richly endowed minds grope in every quarter with an irresolute energy which brings no deliverance to themselves and strikes dismay into others; for as in a crowd the cry of one in imaginary danger will throw thousands into real danger, those passionately despondent moans diffuse doubt among some who would otherwise have found their way to peace. Our cultured youth, as soon as they leave the supports of early education and look out on the sea of opinion, imagine that where so many of the strongest minds drift out at random, there can be no attainable certainty for any one. That there should be therefore multiplied at this crisis, not only in the high places of literature and instruction, but in the pathways of social and domestic life—in which, after all, the mightest influences act—persons competent to interpret these tendencies, enlightened discrimination, patient, firm, compassionate to the erring, and true to God, is to be desired with the uttermost urgency of prayer.

THE CHARACTER WHICH THE TIMES DEMAND.

Let us turn to look more carefully for the qualities suited to such times. It will not be denied that there has been amongst us an extremely peremptory demand for precision in the expression of religious sentiments. It has been apparently assumed that as truth could not have more than one side, nor disclose more to one mind than it could to another; and consequently

that such progress in religious knowledge as involved the rectification of a creed was unlawful or impossible. The reputation of a religious teacher was in a very perilous position, and the profession of piety on the part of a new convert was contemplated with little confidence if the phraseology peculiar to the party were not adopted. If these exactions had been confined to the grand facts of revelation, or even to direct doctrinal deductions from them, they would have wrought comparatively small injury; but when they extended to the splinters of forgotten controversies and to metaphysical speculations, carried into regions in which there never has been any footing for the human understanding, the effect has been to drive the mind away from the sources of Christian life, and to convert religion into a topic of interminable and irritating debate. But if we yield to the tendency of the present period, and make broader the distinction between the truths of primary and secondary importance —between the things which may be and "the things which cannot be shaken"—we must not be seduced from a firm and definite grasp of whatever enters into the essence of Christianity. There is abroad among us an affected philosophic temper, which poises the balance among all opinions as if nothing had been proved; as if nothing were capable of proof; as if decision on anything were dogmatism and presumption. It seems as if the highest condition which can be reached were one of perpetual search, if that can he called search in which it is thought best that nothing should be found. "If," says Lessing, tersely expressing the prevalent opinion, "God were to offer me truth in His right hand, and the search for truth in His left, I would say, 'Father, grant me the search and keep the truth for Thyself.'" But what does this mean? If it mean that the effort of investigation, as a mathematical demonstration, is, through its discipline of the faculties more valuable than the knowledge of any particular conclusion, it may be correct; but if it mean that the pursuit of religious truth is preferable to the possession of religious truth; in other words, that it is better to be ignorant of God than to know Him, then the assertion is absurd and the professed search is rooted in hypocrisy. It is true that our faith in every direction touches the mysterious and the unrevealed, and in reference to everything which lies within that region it becomes us to maintain silence or to speak with diffidence; but with respect to the great truths which form the basis of our friendship with God we certainly have evidence which admits of decision. Do we not hold that Christianity is not the product of human reason and conscience, but the gift of God, supernaturally communicated to mankind? Do we not hold that Jesus Christ is not merely the pre-eminent man and teacher, but the incarnate God? Do we not hold that the way of the world's moral recovery lies nowhere but through His mediation! And do we not know that, although this way will not be entered by constraint of human argument, there yet waits on all right teaching the grace of the Divine Spirit to renew and to purify? And is it possible to hold these truths without holding them as truths of unparalleled interest? Can we in any sense believe them without being stirred to the depths of our nature, and fired with zeal for their universal publication? Those who doubt these things may; but those who accept them must not and cannot give to them a half-hearted utterance. Decisive earnestness is what the world looks for, and what next, to the truth itself, would most serve it. Indecision begets indifference, and indifference doubt. Conviction is the instrument of conviction. Men who have been paralysed by forms, or disgusted by controversies, or wearied out by moral obstructions, are arrested by the realism of those who speak with the warmth of life and with that intense interest in humanity which comes only from Christ. Further, it is not otherwise than by the vivid realisation of those truths that can be nurtured among us that moral character which is indispensable to all human agency for the recovery of the world, and for this age particularly calls. There perhaps never was a wider diffusion of religious truth than there is at the present hour. Vast as the ground is which remains to be taken possession of, and numerous the minds that continue in confusion or utter darkness, we cannot point to a period in which there has been a fuller or clearer publication of the message of life. It may be questioned, however, whether there has been a proportionately conspicuous development of Christian character. The success of the Church in influencing those who have not received her principles and in assimilating to her own likeness the surface of general society, has had the effect of not only rendering distinctively Christian conduct less striking, but has, it may be feared, lessened the effort necessary to reach high moral eminence. It may be that the times which required the man (who said he was a Christian) to be ready at any moment to make good his word by the surrender of his liberty or his life, produced a type of character different to that which is natural to a period in which one's temporal position and repute are rather improved than injured by a similar avowal. It may even be the fact that the men who have won general reverence by the heroism with which they met the edge of the sword or accepted the dungeon for a grave, or "took joyfully the spoiling of their goods," exhibited a less religious excellence than that which is presented by the man who serves his Maker in easy and indulgent times, who is awake when all around him are slumbering; who is disinterested when selfishness is treated as a virtue; who lives under the power of the world to come when a large accommodation to the present world would excite no surprise, and who in short keeps his heart loyal to the King in spite of all the traitorous sophistries with which the atmosphere of life is full. But is this character generally reached? or is it the character generally thought possible to be reached? Do most of those who hail Christ as the giver of peace and strength take Him with equal decision as the pattern of their conduct? Do those who wait on the public ordinances, and pursue religious knowledge with diligence, show equal ardour in completing the subjection of their wills and perfecting the correspondence of their tastes with those of God? Has the fact its full practical weight, that those Apostolic epistles which contain the largest revelation of Divine love are devoted mainly to the culture of personal character, to the bringing of every man up to the moral finish of Christ? We have not been with out abundance of minute prohibitory human injunctions intended to show what is and what is not conformity to the world, and what may and what may not be done in the details of life by those professing to be the followers of Christ, but of which the effect has generally been to form minds scrupulous without strength, often without sincerity, and always without influence. We can dispense with these rules; what we need do is an accession of Christ-life which, acting from within, shall produce men with a firm hold of truth, a broad sympathy with human interests, and an incorruptible fidelity to God amid all the world's enchantments.

After pointing out that such Christian characters were needed in the regions of commerce, science, literature, and politics, Mr. Birrell remarked that —"To tread those slippery places haunted by doubt whether it is possible to act the Christian in them, and whether, when moral collisions occur, there must not be concessions made to injustice, is fatal to all powers. But men imbued with the sentiment of Pascal, that the whole world is simply a revelation of God, that neither material agencies nor social life can move aright, save in accordance with His ordinances, and that therefore those who are obedient to Him, and have most of His Spirit, are the best fitted to carry out His designs everywhere, these having looked on the face of God, will know neither shame nor fear when meeting the face of men."

THE MEANS OF ACQUIRING THIS CHARACTER.

It is not necessary that I should now point in detail to the means within our reach for accomplishing this preparation for the times. But I may be allowed to ask whether more advantage might not be drawn from our denominational organisation. If some maintain that sects are absolute evils, they are at least inevitable. So long as the human mind is free and imperfect there will be diversities of opinion, and honesty requires that the diversities be avowed. Nor can their usefulness be denied. There is scarcely any great principle now in possession of the Church which does not owe its preservation and recognition to the fidelity of the few who first perceiving its value held it fast in the face of scorn and death; and when points of difference have grown comparatively few great services have continued to arise from compact united action. It seems that those German regiments best performed their duty in the field which had been drawn from the same provinces, composed of men familiar from childhood with the same material objects, and conversant with each other's social and personal history. On the same principle, the militant Church derives her best service from companies, not hostile to other companies, but bound together by the charm of special sympathies, by family traditions and individual friendship. But do not these benefits closely adjoin some dangers? Is there no danger of placing those truths for the sake of which we have been compelled to separate, in such positions in relation to other truths that by the laws of perspective they have assumed distorted forms or an excessive apparent magnitude—converting thus our homage to truth into submission to error—a truth out of place being an error of the subtlest character? Is there no danger of standing so long in the attitude of self-defence, and of being so well satisfied with the liberty, often hardly won, of holding our own, as to forget that we form part of the Catholic Church, bound to consider her imperial interests, and to move forward shoulder to shoulder into the enemy's country?

After expanding these inquiries, and addressing very effective appeals for the cultivation of more love to all believers, Mr. Birrell closed his most able address thus:—

CONCLUSION.

Beloved brethren in the Ministry (if I may be pardoned for yielding to the impulse of my heart in addressing you for a moment in closing, apart from the rest of this assembly), it is in vain to conceal that the influence of other means of improvement will be very much determined by the character of our service. There are some who tell us that the Christian Ministry has lost its power, and that its function is fast passing away. It seems to others, and I venture to number myself with them, that while its methods and its relation to other services of instruction may be undergoing changes, it is entering an era of purer and therefore greater influence than ever. Impossible it must be for any one who has even an approach to a just sense of the momentous interests touched by the Ministry, not to feel the insufficiency of all human ability for its right discharge. Evil will be the omen when there shall be a marked decay of the conviction; but I fail to discern such decay. With all the rightful demand of the times for ampler knowledge and richer general culture, it is still felt that the strength of the ministry lies in its spirit; that the field of its operation being chiefly the moral nature, it requires above everything in the labourer, moral power—in a word, that he only who speaks with God and in the proportion in which he does so, can effectually speak to man. These men know that their learning is to be used not in laying the controversies and speculations of the day in detail before they come wearied and hungry from their weekly struggle, but in casting a more revealing light on Scripture, and applying its truths with a more searching and sustaining power to the heart. They know also that the object of their teaching is not to produce 'an idle dependence on their own judgment, but to arouse to investigation; not to supply thought, but to stimulate thinking; not to be religious vicariously in the stead of others, but to bring every man into direct communication with the source of life. The stormier the age becomes, the deeper will be the fear of men's souls, and the more subtle and bewildering the temptations by which it will be sought to deceive the very elect, and the greater therefore will become the necessity for leaders not only of well-furnished understandings, but with hearts crucified to the world, inseparably bound to Christ and full of the Holy Ghost. Eternal Spirit, Author and Giver of life, anoint us all more with Thy grace; and when the victory in this world shall be given to Christ, may we not be denied a part in the joy!

Dr. STEANE, in a few hearty words of admiration and gratitude, moved that the thanks of the Union be given to Mr. Birrell, and that he be requested to allow the address to be published by the Union. The Rev. H. S. BOOTH seconded this proposal, and it was carried with manifest pleasure by the assembly.

The CHAIRMAN, having acknowledged the vote, introduced the Revs. W. Tulloch and Samuel Newman as a deputation from the Baptist Union of Scotland. Mr. TULLOCH briefly addressed the meeting as to the position of the Baptist denomination in Scotland. The Chairman then closed with the Benediction. We hope to supply a report of the Thursday sitting in our next issue.

UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCHES.

The missionary anniversary of this denomination is one of the liveliest of the season, and never fails to awaken considerable interest throughout the Connexion. The attendance is always large, the speaking up to the mark, and the enthusiasm of the audience frequently bordering upon the rapturous. The cheering is so hearty and prolonged that the chairman is compelled to ask when the impassioned peroration of a favourite orator has stirred all hearts, whether it is the will of the assembly that the speech should be "encored," and a general "yes" is the immediate response. On Monday evening last Exeter Hall was completely filled on the occasion of the fourteenth annual meeting. Londoners from every district came in full force in private omnibuses and other conveyances, bent upon an evening's enjoyment, and they did not come in vain. In the course of the evening a numerous choir of young people sang several sacred pieces of a missionary character, and the melodies were not the less pleasing because they were well known, because the vast audience could join in.

The president of the evening was Mr. J. Cuthbertson, who was supported by the Rev. S. S. Barton (Secretary), the Rev. J. Myers (President), the Rev. W. Hubbard, the Rev. J. Worthington, the Rev. W. Boyden, the Rev. Thos. Newton, Mr. J. Chipchase, Mr. S. D. Waddy, Mr. C. Cheetham, Mr. T. Cuthbertson, &c. The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon was unavoidably absent through indisposition. Prayer having been offered by the Rev. J. Adcock,

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with cheers, said that he was glad to see so many familiar faces which he had met from year to year, and to congratulate them upon the successful issue of another year's labour. He regarded their presence there that evening as a sign that the love of Christ was still supreme in their hearts, and that they were desirous of living unto His glory. He trusted that under a sense of their responsibility their chief question was, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" The answer to that query was very clear. There was a sphere for every Christian man and woman, and in one department or another every one might be found occupying until the Master came. He regarded their presence, too, as a sign of their loyalty to the truth, and their desire to work together for the extension of the kingdom of Christ. During the last hundred years all Churches had found it necessary to enter into an associated state, and thus to do what could not be achieved by individual and single-handed effort. The basis of their work was that they loved the Lord their God with all their hearts, and their neighbours as themselves. This made them missionaries in their households, in their districts; this inspired them to work both at home and abroad. The neighbour was the man of every nation, of every colour, who stood in need of salvation. They were to help all who needed help by their agency, by their own personal efforts, and they might have every confidence that if they were faithful to their trust they would not labour without the Master's smile and blessing. As a society they simply endeavoured to fulfil His command. They began at Jerusalem—in other words, at home; but they did not rest satisfied with attending only to the claims of home, but extended their operations throughout the world. They would bear tidings of success which he had no doubt would refresh and gladden their hearts, and he hoped that they would be encouraged to make what had been, an incentive to new effort, and to a holier zeal. (Cheers.)

The Rev. S. S. BARTON presented the annual report, which was a summary of the society's operations during the past year. It is stated that the missionary work was progressing in every station, and that on every side, notwithstanding difficulties here and there, they had what was encouraging and satisfactory. With the exception of the Rev. R. W. Fuller, in China, all their agents had been preserved in health. They had also been able to reinforce their several stations by the addition of a few labourers. Two had been sant to New Zealand, and a third was about to set sail for the same place in the course of a few weeks. The Jamaica Mission had been strengthened by the appointment of another agent. The work in the Australian churches was most encouraging; there were five itinerant ministers, thirteen local preachers, fourteen class leaders, a hundred and twenty-nine members, four chapels, two preaching places, two Sabbath schools, three hundred and twenty-five scholars, and sixteen teachers. These results, it might be said, were small, but they shewed progress. There were now twenty missionaries in the colonies assisted by fifty-six local preachers, with eight hundred and forty-nine members. They had thirty-five chapels and sixteen other preaching places, with thirty-five Sunday-schools, two thousand two hundred and fifty scholars, and two hundred and seventy-two teachers. The work in New Zealand was largely extending. In Jamaica they had ten missionaries, of whom seven were natives, who were labouring with efficiency and success, and making full proof of their ministry. A little was being done in the way of education; this had

been very much neglected, but which now promised to take its right position in relation to the weal of the people and the future usefulness of the churches. In Sierra Leone, the natives last year contributed no less a sum than 184*l.* to the funds of the society, in addition to 419*l.* raised and expended among themselves in the payment of their schoolmasters, &c. A very poor people had thus raised more than 600*l.* in support of the several interests of the Mission. The news from Eastern Africa had cheered the hearts of those who had long looked with anxiety for some ray of hope. Not only had a native church been formed, but part of its membership was gathered from among the Gallas—the first, probably, of their race that had ever received the Gospel. The missionary had learned their language, and, subdued by his preaching and the power of the Cross, they had renounced the practices of heathenism, and were now clothed in their right mind, sitting at the feet of Jesus. Turning to China, Mr. Barton said that they had received from time to time accounts of many conversions from idolatry to the reception of the Gospel. The political aspect of the country, as was well known, had been troubled for some time. There was no doubt that there was a party in the empire secretly plotting to drive out the foreigners. It would occasion no surprise were we to hear of another sudden outbreak, and to find that many of the European merchants and missionaries were exposed to great peril. A pamphlet was being freely distributed, representing the Christian religion as the source of all moral pollution, and its teachers and disciples as guilty of the most horrible practices. Having thus given a summary of the society's field of labour, the secretary stated that the net income last year from all sources was 7,859*l.* 8s. 1d., which was 354*l.* 11s. 2d. in advance of the previous year. Of this sum the London district raised 626*l.* 14s. 4d., being a small decrease on the previous year. The expenditure was 7,370*l.* 7s. 9d., being 489*l.* 0s. 4d. less than the income. Of this sum 4,042*l.* 8s. 9d. had been spent on foreign missions, and 3,337*l.* 19s. on the home stations. There were thirty-four missionaries labouring in Australia, New Zealand, Eastern and Western Africa, Jamaica, and China, with a membership of 5,269, being an increase on the preceding year of 225. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. Myers moved the first resolution, which expressed gratitude for the blessing which had attended the society's operations, and for the liberality of the churches. He said there were always those who were ready to chime in with the cry, "Nothing succeeds like success"; but there were others who believed it to be a man's duty to work, whether that work was attended by signs of success or not. There was a great truth in this latter position; but they should always bear in mind that the success of their work for God was guaranteed whether they conld see it or not. He thought that they were sometimes unreasonable in their way of measuring success. They could not see everything in the course of a single year; that was a very small portion of time in the world's history. It was impossible to tell the growth of the world by annual reports. The world was growing, though we might not be able to determine how much from year to year, and annual reports represented but a very small fragment of what was being done by the Church at large for the welfare of the world. If instead of looking at a year's results, they took the results of ten or twenty years, they would form a juster estimate. During the last twenty years such progress had been made, that if the sainted men who then lived were to revisit our world, they would scarcely recognise it. It would be far better to have confidence in the final success of the Gospel, than year by year to be watching for results which might not always be of an encouraging description. He grounded his belief in the final triumph of the Gospel on the distinct guarantee of the Almighty. There were some in the present day who set down all prophecy as so much poetry; but he believed implicitly in God's promise, in His express covenant with the Saviour, and amidst all discouragements he turned to that promise and expected its fulfilment. He believed in the divinity of Christianity, and, therefore, could not but believe in its eventual triumph throughout the world. He was not unmindful of the amount of labour and toil by which that triumph would have to be wrought out. But though there might be confederacies against the truth, though philosophy and superstition might seek to crush it, though kings and rulers might rage against it, and events might occur which seemed to roll back the tide of Gospel progress, yet there was a bright as well as a dark side. God's word would not, could not, be broken, and the day would come when His Son would have the heathen for His inheritance and the uttermost parts of the sea for His possession. There was not only opposition to the truth in the world, but in the Church. There were seven thousand clergymen eating the bread of the Church, and now spending their time in childish whining and protests against a legal decision about altars and altar cloths and wax-candles. There are thousands of others whose teaching was not evangelical; but this was only what the Church of Christ had had to grapple with from the beginning. It would be impossible for them even to have greater difficulties than that which the Gospel had to encounter in its early days; but just as it overthrew difficulties in the past, notwithstanding their colossal character, so it would prove its might in this one age against all its adversaries. Why, even Methodism now numbered more in its fellowship than there were Christians in the days of Constantine. Twenty years ago, it was an act of treason, punishable by death, for a Mahomedan to be a Christian; now, he is civilly and religiously free. In India caste was supreme; now it is losing its tyranny, and Hindostan is open to the Gospel. England, America, and France had beaten down even the exclusiveness of China. Wherever the merchant and trader can go, the missionary cargo and Bibles may be shipped in the same vessel that carries bales of merchandise. Italy, Austria, and Spain have shaken themselves from the dust; they had established constitutional Government and were struggling into religious freedom. In Africa we had witnessed the greatest feat of ancient or modern times. Livingstone in the spirit of peace had gone across the entire continent, had mixed with tribes who had never seen a white man before, without making a single enemy. Military men thought it a great thing to kill a barbarian chieftain at a cost of nine millions. If they as a society had those nine millions, without killing a single chieftain, they would make that continent as the Garden of the Lord. He believed no one could think of what God had wrought through the instrumentality of the Gospel without being convinced that the work in which they were engaged was a Divine one, and that it must ultimately gloriously triumph. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. S. D. Waddy seconded the resolution. He said he believed the time had gone by for fighting in defence of the cause of missions. The very spirit of Christianity was a missionary spirit, and if that were taken away nothing but a corpse remained. The report was a sufficient answer to all the scoffs and sneers of the infidel. There were some who still said that in sending out missionaries we were but sending out packs of fanatics, and were doing no good. These people were not to be argued with. If, with the proof before them of what Christianity has effected in this country, there were men who could say that it was fanaticism to send the same Gospel to lands now sunk in heathenism and barbarism; if, with the proof before them of what Christianity has done in the lands into which it has been introduced, there are people who think we are fanatical in sending out missionaries, then such people are not to be argued with. The truth was that in any spot where missionaries had had a fair chance, there they had done a noble work. Look at Fiji. There were forty thousand more attending worship there than they had sittings in the Methodist chapels of London. Tracing the growth of the society, Mr. Waddy excited considerable amusement by readng extracts from the reports of Dr. Coke; reports in which that painstaking, careful man had put down the money spent in boots and shoes, a nightcap, and an umbrella. Thinking that an umbrella might be counted a luxury, he had thought it necessary to add a footnote in which he explained that though the article in question might be a luxury here, it was a necessary in the torrid zone. The price of the umbrella in those days was 1*l.* 3s. There was also an item of 16s. for "light gold." The first year's income of the society was 66*l.* 3s. Contrasting that with the income of last year, had they not every reason to thank God and take courage? (Cheers.)

The resolution was unanimously carried.

The Rev. W. Hubbard, Manchester, moved the second resolution, which urged the necessity of more earnest prayer on behalf of the missionaries, that they might be Divinely assisted in their labours. It also referred to the importance of a more thorough organisation for their support, and of interesting young people in the work, seeing that their contributions formed so large a part of the society's income. Mr. Hubbard analysed his resolution in a masterly style, and enforced and illustrated its several points. In one portion of his speech he said that as a denomination they were thorough-going Nonconformists, and were expecting the disestablishment of the Episcopalian Church; but if he thought that Nonconformists would not take up the matter of finance in a right hearty spirit, he should hesitate to hold up his hand for the disestablishment of the Church; but he had faith in their earnestness, their liberality and benevolence, and he believed that when as a society they made a call for increased support, that call would be heartily and promptly responded to. (Cheers.)

The resolution was seconded by Mr. T. Cuthbertson, and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Rabbitts, seconded by the Rev. W. Boyden, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman for his kindness in presiding, and the proceedings terminated.

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SOCIETY.

Our advertising columns have made our readers acquainted with the fact that a course of lectures is about to be delivered in St. George's Hall, Langham-place, designed to meet the current forms of unbelief among the educated classes. The inaugural lecture was delivered by the Archbishop of York yesterday afternoon, when there was a large attendance. Amongst the audience were the Dean of St. Paul's, Prebendary Hessey, Sir Bartle Frere, General Burrows, Colonel Cooper Gardiner, the Rev. Dr. Stoughton, the Rev. W. Brock, Archdeacon Hunter, the Rev. D. Fraser, &c.

The Earl of Harrowby presided, and the Dean of St. Paul's having said a collect, delivered a brief address, in which he alluded to the importance of the movement now inaugurated. He said the public mind in the present day was keenly agitated by religious questions. The last century was one of indifference and apathy rather than of religious hostility, but in our day everything had to be justified, and it was necessary to assume a new attitude to prove the credentials of religion, and their claim upon our faith and conduct. With this view a few gentlemen connected with no particular Church, but holding the truth as it is in Jesus, associated themselves together for the purpose of proving that religion has a right to claim the allegiance of the human mind. Last year able and earnest men were employed to labour among the poor and half educated; but it was thought that an effort should be made amongst the better educated, and they had therefore secured the services of lecturers whose position, culture, and character eminently fitted them to discharge the duty which they had undertaken. (Cheers.)

The subject of the Archbishop's lecture was:—On the theory of the development of the Universe by the agency of purely physical laws, without the intervention of an intelligent Creator. Glancing first at the field in which the argument from design was to be drawn—the mineral, vegetable, animal, and human kingdoms, he proceeded to argue that man was intended to govern nature. He was not influenced by the great laws which regulated other organic beings. He had power to reflect upon and understand nature. His constitution had been fitted by foresight and wisdom for the place in the world he was designed to fill. He was gifted with a conscience, and was thus immeasurably removed from the creature whose home was in the tree. Like to the animal in his physical attributes, he had moral qualities which allied him with the unseen, and this was a powerful witness for a world beyond this. His belief in the existence of God and his sense of responsibility distinguished him from all animals. You might lower the man to the ape, but it was all the more wonderful that he should be capable of, and that he should maintain this union with the Divine; and that man under the most miserable conditions should cry, God does exist, and He can see and hear me. The tendency of a certain school of thinkers in the present day was materialistic; law was elevated into the place of God; design, contrivance which would be readily recognised in the work of man were excluded when the work of God was concerned. But let anyone look at the graduality which marked the appearance of the several kingdoms until man at length stood at the head of nature. The plant world was more than the mineral; it was a new world. Was it the mere outcome of the kingdom before it? The third kingdom went beyond the second, and the fourth beyond the third. In each there were marks of design, as the right reverend lecturer showed by felicitous illustrations. Was it an accident that the bill of the snipe was fitted for its marshy residence, or that the woodpecker and swallow should be framed as they were for their respective existences? Every mind in its natural state admitted that the creation afforded marks of design, but the mere physicist had schooled himself to adopt a different view. The popular view, however, was better than the scientific theory. Men, however imperfect, did believe in God. His existence was not merely assumed to account for marks of design, but there were these marks of design because He exists and because of His infinite wisdom. God alone is and can be the first cause of the universe, the mover of its motions, and the Governor of its life. The whole creation was in His mind before ever it took form. We did not narrow the power of the Divine Artificer when we affirmed that He worked according to law; but law was not God. His laws were the veiling of a brightness too bright for human gaze.

On the conclusion of the lecture, which was frequently cheered, on the motion of the Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to the Archbishop, and it was announced that on Friday next the Dean of Canterbury (Rev. R. Payne Smith) would lecture upon "Science and Revelation." It is to be hoped these lectures, though designed for the educated classes, will be in the truest sense of the word popular. The Archbishop of York modestly kept himself within range of an ordinary intellect, although at times you saw that some of the most subtle casuistries of the day had not been unnoticed by him, and that he was ready to grapple with them had time allowed. When, however, by so much or so little as a hint, he attempted to deal in an hour and a-half with questions that would require a volume for their discussion, the ear of his audience became restless. These lectures, if they are not too deep and scholastic, and if educated men are not assumed to be more highly educated than they are, will bear good fruit. It should not be forgotten that the "other side" will have their say; in the gallery were two or three notable sceptics—at least, as such they print themselves.

BRITISH AND IRISH BAPTIST HOME MISSION.

The annual meeting of this society was held last evening in Bloomsbury Chapel, under the presidency of Mr. W. M. M'Arthur, M.P., supported by the Rev. C. Kirtland, the Rev. A. Brown, the Rev. W. Handford, the Rev. A. M. Henry, and other friends of the society. The report presented by Mr. Kirtland contained few features of special interest. Since the last annual meeting there had been a clear increase of thirteen stations, making, within a period of two years from the present time, an addition of twenty new fields of labour. There were now upwards of sixty agents labouring in connection with the Mission, and of these twenty-six were in Ireland, being a larger num-

ber than the Mission had had at one time in that country since the establishment of the society. The past year had not been distinguished by any great religious awakening, but it had been marked by steady, continuous effort, which had yielded a fair quantity of fruit. In England, the returns gave an average of nine additions to each station; in Ireland seven. During the last winter the secretary visited several of the stations in the north of England, and was cheered by the evidences of progress which he met with. In the majority of these places there were signs of active and vigorous life. There were equally encouraging features presented in the reports from other places, and, on the whole, the English mission field had seldom worn a more encouraging aspect than at the present time. In Ireland there were indications that a change was coming over the minds of the people. Old ideas still clung to them, and old superstitions still fettered the judgment and prevented the exercise of free thought; but they were beginning to break through the trammels that had been imposed on them for ages past, and to claim the right of private judgment. Romanists in some parts were more easy of access than formerly. Mr. W. E. Bea,l who had been requested by the committee to accompany the secretary on a visit to the stations in Ireland last summer, stated that wherever they went they were cordially welcomed, and that he never came in contact with a more noble, devoted, earnest, godly band of labourers than the agents of the society. The committee are endeavouring to extend the operations of the mission further into the west and south of Ireland than it has done of late years. Thanks were expressed to the Religious Tract Society and the Baptist Tract Society for the large and generous grants of books and tracts which had been made; these tracts were, with very few exceptions, welcomed by the people. The committee regretted to report the death of Mr. Middleditch, who for several years was the efficient and devoted secretary of the Baptist Irish Society. The financial report was not encouraging. The gross receipts showed a large deficiency as compared with the previous year; but, it was stated, this arose from the fact that the sum received in legacies, special donations, and remittances from America was less by 1,376*l.* than during the year 1869-70. The income of the mission from ordinary and reliable sources had not only been maintained, but showed an advance of more than 150*l.* over late years.

The speeches delivered in the course of the evening were of a fervid and inspiriting character. The Chairman referred to the spirit of the age as involving a tremendous necessity upon all who held the truth to contend for it, and to bring it home to the hearts and consciences of the sceptical and worldly. It was a time for scattering Divine seed, which in due time would yield its golden harvest. Amongst all denominations there should be a wholesome rivalry as to which should do most good. It was a terrible thing to think of—a nation without a God and without religion. The example of France just now clearly showed into what deplorable conditions that country would sink that was without religion. It had sown for years to the wind, and was now reaping the whirlwind. All should remember that that man was the best who brought to bear upon the masses of his country the blessed influence of Christ's religion—for the truth was unchangeable—that it is righteousness which exalteth a nation. Our glory would not lie in our military strength, but if we were true to ourselves and to our Lord, England would rise higher and higher among the nations, and her mission amongst them would be yet more glorious.

The meeting was subsequently addressed by Mr. A. Brown, of Stepney, Mr. E. W. Handford, of Bolton, and Mr. A. M. Henry, of Belfast, and the claims of the society upon the liberality of the churches were ably enforced.

PRESENTATION OF TESTIMONIAL TO REV. F. TRESTRAIL.

At the close of the meeting of members of the Baptist Foreign Mission on Tuesday morning last, a novel and most deeply interesting feature was introduced in presenting to the Rev. F. Trestrail a sum of money which has been subscribed by his many warm friends in different parts of the country, as an expression of their great respect for him and his prolonged services in connection with the Foreign Mission Society. It will be in the remembrance of our readers that twelvemonths ago Mr. Trestrail resigned the post of secretary which he had held so long and honourably. It was felt then on all sides that so able and genial a Christian gentleman as Mr. Trestrail had always shown himself to be, ought not to be allowed to retire into more private life without receiving some token of the esteem of his fellow ministers and the members of the churches. The proposal at once commended itself to the leaders of the denomination, and a committee was formed with J. Herbert Tritton, Esq., as secretary. The response was prompt and generous, the only regret felt by many of the donors being that they should not again have the pleasure of receiving and hearing Mr. Trestrail again as the Secretary of the Mission. The sum collected amounted to 1,350*l.*, and Joseph Tritton, Esq., as Treasurer of the Missionary Society, was requested to make the presentation. So when the usual business of the mission had been disposed of on Tuesday morning the presentation was made. Mr. Tritton said:—

It devolves on me to hand you, Mr. Trestrail, this cheque for thirteen hundred and fifty pounds as the free contribution of your many friends in token of the affection and respect in which they hold you. A presentation of this nature has a value far beyond that expressed by the amount of the money, as it has been contributed from far and near, and is the gift of many hearts and hands, and it tells of a wide and deep feeling cherished by the friends of the society toward yourself. It is a testimony that they acknowledge the efficiency with which you have served the interests of this noble missionary society. It is our joy to know that you have not gone into a forced or inactive retirement. You have gone back to a work second to none in its holy and honourable and beneficent character. In returning to the ministry, in the name of this large meeting, in the name of the churches and all your brethren, I express the heartiest good wishes for your personal happiness and usefulness in serving your Lord and Saviour by preaching and ministering the word of eternal life.

Mr. Trestrail, who was received with the heartiest welcome by the whole assembly, said:—

In some respects I wish I could have been spared the duty which now falls to me to discharge. I am much obliged to my friend and late colleague Dr. Underhill for the very warm terms in which he spoke of me before the engagements connected with this presentation commenced. It must be a great satisfaction to you all to know that he and I worked on together for twenty-one years with such thorough cordiality and unbroken friendship. I earnestly hope that his health may be continued to him, and that his pleasure in his onerous duties may constantly increase.

After thanking Mr. Tritton for his generous utterances, Mr. Trestrail went on to give some of his many recollections in connection with the Missionary Society. The first thing, he said, which he remembered, was the announcement of the death of Mr. Fuller. I was then, remarked Mr. Trestrail, but a boy, yet I can now distinctly recal the feeling of sorrow which was manifested by all the Baptist friends in Falmouth when the news came that Andrew Fuller was dead. My next remembrance was the visit to Falmouth of my now venerable friend Mr. Hinton, and, even though I was but a lad, I was much struck by the vigour of Mr. Hinton's thoughts, with the lucidity of his style, and with the melting pathos with which he spoke. The next event of moment was the formation in Cornwall of a County Auxiliary to the Missionary Society, and this brought amongst us some of the noble leaders of the denomination, such as Dr. Ryland, Mr. Winterbotham, and others. About this time I was received into the church by my dear friend the Rev. Samuel Green. Then came the visit of Burchell and Knibbs to plead on behalf of Jamaica, and their appeals stirred my whole soul. Slavery then existed in our western colonies, and these earnest, holy men exposed and denounced the iniquitous system. Soon after this I was asked by the church to give myself to the work of the ministry, so that my entrance upon ministerial life was not of my own seeking. The only condition laid down by my friends was that I should not leave my native land. I entered Bristol College, and there was brought under the influence of a fine set of men, who were the senior students, some of whom—such as the Rev. W. Robinson, of Cambridge—remain till the present day. In Bristol, too, I was honoured with the kind friendship of the Rev. Robert Hall, and was brought often into the society of such men as John Foster, Dr. Leifchild, and the warm-hearted, earnest minister of Christ, Mr. Winter of Counterslip." Mr. Trestrail at some length supplied most interesting details of his entrance upon the ministry—his experience first in London, in Northamptonshire, in the Isle of Wight, and then at Cork, where he spent four years as pastor of the Baptist church. From Cork he came to London to assume the duties of secretary to the Baptist Irish Society, from which, on the resignation of Dr. Angus, he succeeded with Dr. Underhill to the secretariat of the Foreign Missionary Society, and in that post he continued for nearly a quarter of a century, In closing, Mr. Trestrail appealed most earnestly to his younger brethren in the ministry to cultivate a missionary spirit. He was sure that, under the Divine Spirit's blessing, he owed more than he could express or conceive of to the fact that his heart had always been full of love for the cause of missions. The missionary spirit in any Christian and in the Church was at one and the same time an indication of the measure on which our Lord's Spirit was possessed, and it was, too, a most fruitful means whereby good was received. If he were uttering his last words, he would with all possible earnestness entreat of each one present to foster in his heart the deepest love for the cause of foreign missions. Mr. Trestrail very feelingly thanked Mr. Tritton for his great personal kindness; also all the brethren for the courteous and most brotherly reception he had always met with from them and the churches over which they preside. We may be permitted to say that the whole tone and spirit of the meeting must have proved gratifying in the highest degree to Mr. Trestrail.

THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

The adjourned discussion on the question of paying the fees of indigent children in denominational schools or any "public elementary school" was resumed at the meeting of the Board on Wednesday—the Rev. John Rodgers, M.A., rector of St. Thomas's, Charterhouse, having moved a resolution declining to pay such fees, and Canon Cromwell an amendment in favour of such grants.

Mr. Smithies resumed the discussion. He contended that there was nothing in the Act of Parliament which would warrant the Board to agree to the motion made by the Rev. Mr. Rodgers. In proof of this assertion he cited the provisions of the Act bearing upon the point. So far from the Act going in opposition to existing schools, it in his opinion joined with them in the important work in which they engaged. If Mr. Rodgers's motion were carried, it would touch some of the poor on one of their most tender parts. He might imagine an industrious father of five children suddenly laid up by sickness whilst paying for the schooling of those children. An application would be made to the Board for assistance, but if Mr. Rodgers's motion were carried the Board would have no alternative but to refuse it, and say, "My good friend, we cannot pay the fees of your children unless you take away your children from the school they are now attending and place them in one of our Board schools." That would be a great hardship after children had attended a school perhaps for some years and become attached to their master. He felt strongly on this point, that to require such a removal would be a hardship and a cruelty. For these and other reasons he believed that, even if the motion were passed, the Education Department would refuse to sanction it; and he urged the Board not to damage the existing schools, but to use them, as far as it could, in the education of the masses of the people.

The Rev. Canon Miller though opposed to the motion, could not allow that the objection to it should stand on the ground that it was against the spirit of the Act, for the board could adopt the principle so set forth. He said he was sick of hearing the words "denominationalism" and "sectarian," and he declared that the ghost of denominationalism which was so often conjured up was a very harmless one if looked at. He looked at the motion from the ratepayer's point of view, and he thought it well to use the existing accommodation in place of building new schools, which coul not be done in the face of this resolution, and, moreover, magistrates would not be inclined to go with the board in enforcing the compulsory clause of the parents were not allowed to have a voice in choosing the school to which their children was to be sent.

Mrs. Anderson said she should vote against both the motion and amendment, and propose a resolution herself when the time should come. She thought it was undesirable to discuss the subject of sending children to this or that school until the subject of the payment of school fees had been settled by the Vice-President of the Committee on Education, Mr. Forster having stated to a deputation the previous day that he had the subject under his consideration. (Hear.) As it was, this question thus before Mr. Forster was being taken on a side issue, and she thought it would be better to come to a resolution whether or not it was desirable to pay the fees for parents who were too poor, or represented themselves as too poor, to pay them, instead of raising the subordinate question of which these children were to go. The resolution she should propose was:—"That inasmuch as it may be found expedient by the board to use their power of paying school fees on behalf of parents, if at all, in strictly exceptional cases only, it is not desirable, until the policy of such payments shall have been thoroughly discussed, to decide at what schools the fees should be payable." The view she held was that Canon Cromwell's amendment was a proposition which would stimulate pauperism in a large number of persons who would be ready to have their school fees paid for them; it would encourage improvidence, it would tempt the already provident parent to become less provident and less independent, and it would tend to break down those very small barriers which now existed, in many cases, between independence and dependence. It should be in the parents' minds that it was as much a duty to provide pence for the schoolmaster as for the baker ("Hear," and murmurs), and it should be accepted that there was no more excuse for not paying for education than for not paying for bread. (Hear.)

The Rev. Dr. Barry contended that if the ypassed Mr. Rodgers's motion they would be stultifying themselves with regard to the great principle they had laid down, that they would respect the religious liberty of every parent, and so, indirectly, the religious liberty of every child. It had been mentioned that it would be utterly impossible to carry out the compulsory clauses if they passed Mr. Rogers's resolution, and he was certain that would be the case. It was not in accordance with the spirit of the Act, and any such bye-laws would probably be rejected by the Education Department. If they passed Mr. Rogers's motion they would be weakening their hands and damaging their principles. Canon Cromwell's proposal was only a temporary measure, and if the decision of Mr. Forster, on the suggestions of the Liverpool deputation, in any degree, threw a light on the subject, the board could retrace its steps; but in the meantime they would make it possible to put their compulsory measures in force instead of postponing them, and they would have educated a large number of destitute children who were at present in want of education. As to the grievance of the ratepayer, it might be a small or a great matter; but, in the interests of ratepayers they were undoubtedly bound to utilise the existing machinery, especially over that period which must elapse before they could get their own schools. As to "the previous question," which had been suggested, he could see no advantage in putting off the

(Continued on page 403.)

SOCIETY FOR THE LIBERATION OF RELIGION FROM STATE-PATRONAGE AND CONTROL.

TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE, MAY 2ND AND 3RD.

DELEGATES' CARDS, with the requisite instructions, are in course of issue.

Appointments not yet reported should be notified by the first post.

Subscribers and others will be admitted as visitors, on their previously applying for cards of admission.

THE PUBLIC MEETING

Will be held on WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 3rd, at the METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE, Newington.

It will be presided over by Sir WILFRID LAWSON, Bart., M.P., and J. CANDLISH, Esq., M.P., A. ILLINGWORTH, Esq., M.P., E. MIALL, Esq., M.P., Hon. E. LYULPH STANLEY, Rev. H. W. CROSSKEY, of Birmingham, Rev. J. P. CROWN, of Bradford, and HENRY VINCENT, Esq., have engaged to be present.

Tickets admitting to reserved seats will be issued to subscribers and their friends, and to ladies, on application, personally or by letter, to the Secretary, at the Society's offices, or to Mr. Blackshaw, at the Metropolitan Tabernacle.

☞The doors will be opened at a Quarter-past Six, and the chair taken at Seven.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.

2, Serjeants'-inn, Fleet-street, E.C.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION.—At a numerous and most influential public meeting, held at the Egyptian Hall, Mansion House, on Friday, the 21st day of April, 1871, the Right Honourable the LORD MAYOR in the Chair, the following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

1. Proposed by the Right Honourable Lord BUCKHURST, seconded by R. W. CRAWFORD, Esq., M.P., supported by William Lawrence, Esq., M.P. and Alderman, and the Rev. G. M. Murphy—

"That the threatened confiscation of the property of Emanuel Hospital, and the extinction of that and other endowed school charities upon the principle pronounced by the Endowed Schools Commissioners, 'that there shall be no gratuitous education except as the reward of merit,' is a measure which this meeting emphatically condemns, not only as a violation of the rights of property, but as tending to obstruct the working of the great scheme of national education, and is, in the opinion of this meeting, at once untenable and pernicious."

2. Proposed by Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P., seconded by Alderman Sir JAMES CLARKE LAWRENCE, Bart., M.P., supported by Christopher Sykes, M.P., and John Jones, Esq., Citizen and Turner—

"That where charitable foundations are answering good purposes, the intentions of their founders ought to be respected; that the proposed abrogation of the charter of Emanuel Hospital, the obliteration of the very name of the charity, the removal of its governing body, and the contemplated diversion of the design of Lady Dacre, its benevolent foundress, are measures calculated to destroy the sources of charity, and to establish a precedent for the annihilation of some of our noblest charitable institutions."

3. Proposed by J. G. TALBOT, Esq., M.P., seconded by the Rev. J. C. ACLAND, M.A., Head Master of Colchester Royal Grammar School, and supported by the Right Hon. Lord John Manners, M.P., and by Mr. W. A. Cossens, Head Master of the Grammar School at Monmouth:—

"That this meeting observes with gratification that the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury proposes to draw the attention of the Legislature to this important question, and that a committee be now appointed (with power to add to their number) to assist the Governors of Emanuel Hospital in their opposition to the schemes of the Endowed Schools Commissioners."

4. Proposed by W. H. SMITH, Esq., M.P., and seconded by A. STAVELEY HILL, Esq., Q.C., M.P.:—

"That the Right Hon. Lord Buckhurst, the members of Parliament now present, the Governors of Emanuel Hospital and of the Greycoat Hospital, be the committee, with power to add to their number."

5. Proposed by W. FOSTER WHITE, Esq., Treasurer of Christ's Hospital, seconded by W. ST. JAMES WHEELHOUSE, Esq., M.P., and supported by Colonel Marcus Beresford, M.P.:—

"That the thanks of this meeting are hereby given to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor for affording this opportunity for the expression of the public sentiment on a question involving especially the interests of the poor, and that this meeting hopes that Her Majesty's Government will reconsider resolutions that can only embarrass the great cause of general education, and produce discontent among the benevolent contributors to every charity in the kingdom."

THOMAS DAKIN, Lord Mayor.

Mansion House, April 22, 1871.

AMERSHAM HALL SCHOOL,
CAVERSHAM, NEAR READING.
HEAD MASTER.—MR. WEST.

VICE-MASTER.—MR. ALFRED S. WEST, M.A. (Gold-Medallist), London; B.A. (Senior Moralist) Cambridge; Fellow of University College, London, late of Trinity College, Cambridge.

FIRST MATHEMATICAL MASTER AND LECTURER ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, Mr. A. Todd, M.A., Glasgow (late Williams Scholar); SECOND CLASSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL MASTER AND LECTURER ON CHEMISTRY, Mr. J. Waterston, M.A. (Honours), Aberdeen; ENGLISH MASTER, Mr. W. C. Harris; FRENCH MASTER, Monsieur Malfroy, B.A., Cluny; GERMAN MASTER, C. Nicolai, Ph. Dr. Halle and Berlin; Licencié ès-lettres, Paris.

Non-Resident—MUSIC AND SINGING MASTER, Mr. W. H. Birch, Organist of Christ Church, Reading; DRAWING MASTER, Mr. C. R. Havell, Government School of Art, Reading; LECTURER ON BOTANY, Mr. A. W. Bennett, M.A., B.Sc., London, F.L.S., Lecturer on Botany to the Westminster Hospital.

Since the date of the last Report (July 23, 1870) the degrees taken and the distinctions obtained by gentlemen who completed their school education at Amersham Hall have been as follows, viz.—CAMBRIDGE, B.A., three, of whom one was 14th Wrangler: LONDON, B.A., two, of whom one was bracketed 1st in Logic and Moral Philosophy Honours with University Scholarship of £25 for 3 years; B.Sc., one, who also obtained a Whitworth Scholarship of £100 for 3 years; first B.A., two; first M.B., first LL.B., and Matriculation, one each: TRINITY COLL., CAMBRIDGE, one Mathematical Scholarship of £70: UNIVERSITY COLL., LONDON, one Gold Medal (Botany), two Silver Medals (Midwifery and Materia Medica), one Andrews Prize for New Students (English, Greek, French) £20: ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS—Primary Examination, one; Preliminary Examination, one; INCORPORATED LAW SOCIETY—Final Examination, one, with Certificate of Merit.

The School Session is divided into Three Terms of Thirteen Weeks each. The next Term will commence on Tuesday, April 25.

The payment, made in advance, for the board and tuition of a pupil

Above 12 years of age is £22 per Term.
Under 12 " 18 "

Particulars and copy of Examiners' Report on the School to the Syndicate appointed by the University of Cambridge, may be obtained on application to the Head Master.

THE NONCONFORMIST,
Weekly Newspaper, price 5d.

Edited by EDWARD MIALL, M.P.

MAY SUPPLEMENTS.

The NONCONFORMIST (with Supplement) will be published on THURSDAY, May 4 (instead of Wednesday), in order that it may contain a full and complete report of the two days' Conference of the Liberation Society, at the Cannon-street Hotel, and of the Public Meeting at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, together with a sketch of the proceedings, and a brief history, of that Society from its foundation, and reports of the Anniversaries of the Baptist Missionary, Wesleyan, and other Societies.

The NONCONFORMIST (with Supplement) will also be published on THURSDAY, May 11 (instead of Wednesday), and will report verbatim the debate of the 9th in the House of Commons on Mr. Miall's Disestablishment Motion (with sketch of the proceedings), the first day's session of the Congregational Union in London, and various anniversary meetings.

The NONCONFORMIST of WEDNESDAY, May 17 (with Supplement), will report the further meetings of the Congregational Union, the London Missionary Society, and other religious anniversaries. It will also contain an extended survey of the work of the principal School Boards up to that date.

The NONCONFORMIST of Wednesday May 24 (with Supplement) will report in full the Annual Meeting of the Peace Society and other anniversaries.

Each of these numbers will contain original sketches of the May Meetings as they take place.

*** *ADVERTISEMENTS (if for the four numbers at a reduced rate) received not later than the day before publication, at the office, 18, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, by the Publisher, Mr. A. Miall. These four numbers (1s. 8d.), or single copies (5d.) will be sent on the receipt of postage stamps.*

In accordance with the above, we beg to call special attention to the postponement of our next number, which will be published on THURSDAY, May 4th, instead of Wednesday, May 3rd.

TO ADVERTISERS.

The Terms for Advertising in THE NONCONFORMIST are as follows:—

One Line	A Shilling.
Each additional Line . .	Sixpence.

There are, on an average, eight words in a line.

LEADER PAGE.

An extra charge of 2s. 6d. for every ten lines or under.

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Advertisers of all classes will find THE NONCONFORMIST a valuable Medium for their announcements.

THE NONCONFORMIST is registered for transmission abroad.

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*** Where any difficulty is experienced in obtaining copies with regularity from their Newsvendor, the Subscriber will find his cause of complaint removed by ordering a stamped copy direct from the Publishing-office.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"J. H. Leonard" and "A Welshman."—In type, but crowded out this week.

"G. Onions."—The matter has, we understand, been fully considered by the committee, who have thought it best to postpone the action he recommends till next year.

*** We regret that, owing to the pressure upon our space this week, we have been unable to find room for several communications, as well as the ordinary news of the week.

It is announced that a poem by Professor Longfellow will appear in the May number of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Campbell, the man sentenced to death for the murder of Mr. Galloway at Stratford, was executed at Chelmsford on Monday.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 1871.

SUMMARY.

FOR the first time this three weeks there was yesterday a pause in the artillery duél and hard fighting on the western side of Paris, in order to allow the unhappy inhabitants of Neuilly—the very centre of the conflict—to emerge from their cellars, where they have been cooped up, and escape into the city. The Versailles troops—M. Thiers having now at his command some 150,000 men—are being massed outside the walls, within which the National Guard are being gradually driven to take shelter behind the formidable barricades which have been constructed. There are the customary stories of battalions being disaffected and refusing to fight, but General Dombrowski still maintains a firm front. M. Thiers refuses all proposals of compromise, the National Assembly mutters, "We will not treat with the brigands," and in a few days Paris will, it is expected, be isolated, preparatory to the long deferred grand attack by Marshal MacMahon. It is, however, untrue that the forts on the left bank of the Seine have been delivered up by the Germans, the first instalment of the war indemnity, twenty millions sterling, not having yet been paid.

The Commune of Paris has somewhat emerged from the haze which surrounded it, having at length appointed a regular Ministry, composed as follows:—"Cluseret, Minister of War; Jourde, Finance; Viard, Commissariat; Paschal Grousset, Foreign Affairs; Protot, Justice; Rigault, Public Safety." The last-named official has already resigned. Indeed resignations are the order of the day. Even Felix Pyat has retired from the Commune because the late elections to supply vacancies were declared legal, though the number of voters was insufficient. The Commune has also at length condescended to issue an official programme, the substance of which is as follows:—Vote of the Communal Budget; imposition and distribution of taxation; management of local affairs; organisation of the magistrature, internal police and instruction; the administration of the wealth belonging to the Commune. Besides this the Commune claims to elect and dismiss its magistrates and other functionaries as it likes. Its other inherent rights are: absolute individual liberty, liberty of conscience and liberty of work. We suppose the imprisonment of ecclesiastics, the suppression of the moderate press, the seizure of suspects, the prevention of the opening of factories, would be set down as exceptional measures. But the despotism of the Commune is not a whit better than that of the Emperor, and is less discriminating. It still levies requisitions on bank and public companies, and holds a trump-card in the possession of the Great Book of the Debt, which contains the lists of all the creditors of the State. All the criminal records having been destroyed, this precious volume, when a great exigency arrives, may follow.

Mr. Lowe's Budget has been the occasion of great excitement during the week, especially in the East of London. The match-makers, chiefly women and children, mustered by the thousand at Bow on Monday, and a great part of them were conveyed in vans westward by way of demonstration against the new tax. A great multitude formed in procession, and invaded Palace Yard about the time the House of Commons meets, and were with difficulty driven away by the police. The match-makers may now rest in peace. Last night the Chancellor of the Exchequer withdrew the obnoxious impost, and will to-morrow propose a substitute. His stock of stamps for the lucifer-match boxes of the future, bearing the ingenious motto, "*Ex Luce Lucellum*," will have to be destroyed. Mr. Disraeli has given notice of a motion expressing dissatisfaction at the financial proposals of the Government, and requiring their reconsideration. But he is too late. This time he will probably receive little help from the benches below the gangway. The Budget will now for some days stand in the way of the other measures of the session, and altogether the prospects of a fruitful legislation are very gloomy. The publicans are organising a very powerful agitation against Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill, and it is thought that the Home Secretary will endeavour to escape from the storm he has raised by proposing to refer the Bill to a select committee.

Dr. Dollinger has been excommunicated by the Archbishop of Munich, and all compromise with the view of hushing up the quarrel on the Infallibility question is at an end. The King of Bavaria openly sides with the distinguished Professor, retaining him as the court chaplain, and has expressed his regret at the judgment

pronounced against him. Other learned men, formerly Ultramontanes, have placed themselves at Dr. Dollinger's side, and the University of Rome has sent him a sympathising address. All the German Governments are hostile to the pretensions of the Papacy—that of Wurtemburg having last week joined the others by officially refusing to allow the Infallibility dogma to be promulgated. There is now, as well there may be, great anxiety on the subject at the Vatican. The fears felt by the Pope and his Jesuit advisers of an ecclesiastical rebellion in Germany are apparently well founded—the interests of the Governments and the intelligence of the people being arrayed against the spiritual despotism of Rome. What shape this disaffection of the Catholic laity will take is not yet apparent, but there seems to be no room for any pacific arrangement. It is said that Pius IX. is seriously ill under the accumulation of anxieties which his rash policy has brought upon him.

Various statements represent Russia as anxious to pursue a pacific policy. Prince Gortschakoff is about to retire, and is not unlikely to be succeeded as Minister of Foreign Affairs by Baron Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador in London. Neither the Emperor nor the Prince are, says a letter from St. Petersburg, disposed to inaugurate a warlike policy. Russia is anxious to live in harmony with the Porte. "While formerly scarcely a day passed without some unpleasantness occurring between the Russian Embassy and the Porte," writes the *Times* correspondent at Vienna, "now all goes quite smoothly. There are no more complaints about extortionate Pashas and venal tribunals, no more grievances of Christian nationalities; all that is done is well done. The Russian Dragoman and Ambassador are no more the bugbears of the Turkish Foreign Office. The Porte is left in peace and quiet." Russia upholds the rights of Turkey in respect to Roumania, and discourages all agitation in Montenegro. If these statements are true, they are of real importance as bearing not only upon the peace of Europe, but upon our own armaments.

President Grant has convened an extra session of the Senate for the 10th of May to consider the results of the labours of the Joint High Commission. Not only has a basis been laid down by the Commissioners for settling the Alabama claims, and adjusting the fishery difficulty, but they have also provided for arranging the San Juan boundary question by deciding to refer it to the arbitration of a friendly Power, and have agreed to open the St. Lawrence on terms favourable to the United States. Thus all matters of difference between the two countries have been courageously grappled with and put in train for settlement, and it is said that the Senate, so far from hindering the good work, is disposed to accept this comprehensive arrangement with little discussion.

THE BUDGET.

LAST Thursday night, Mr. Lowe launched his Budget for the ensuing financial year. If it be, as it is said to be, an anxious and perplexing duty to distribute a surplus, what must it be to provide for a deficit? The Chancellor of the Exchequer has had to discharge this unwelcome obligation, and, we need hardly say he has not given satisfaction in any quarter. He is to be pitied as well as blamed. Probably, if he had had his own way, in meting out the expenditure of the year, he would not have had so unpleasant a task in finding adequate "ways and means." His mind evidently inclines to thrift, and he is predisposed to look imaginary dangers in the face with cynicism and contempt. We are somewhat curious to know what part he has taken in the Cabinet discussions which ended in a weak surrender to the so-called war panic. Of course, he has put the best face on it now that the mischief is done—but if, as is rumoured, and seems not improbable, he did not altogether acquiesce in the necessity of so large an addition to our military defences, it is rather hard to visit upon him the offence of the majority of his colleagues. True, Mr. Lowe's *forte* is not that of gilding the bitterness which he has to thrust down the throats of taxpayers, nor is it his customary manner to make unpleasantness seem pleasant. We are not sure, however, that, in the framing of his present Budget, he has not done the State an incidental service, in making all ranks of Her Majesty's subjects painfully conscious that war panics, by whomsoever they are excited, or, more correctly speaking, simulated, are luxuries which cannot be indulged in save at an inevitable and a very heavy cost.

Let us look back with Mr. Lowe at the accounts of the nation for the year ending March 31, 1871. We began the year fairly enough. After a large remission of taxation which, added to that of the preceding year, amounted to 8,600,000*l.*, the income reckoned as available for 1870-71 was 67,634,000*l.* The expenditure for the same year sanctioned by Parliament was estimated at 67,303,000*l.* Before the end of the Session, however, the Franco-German war broke out, and, immediately following it, the military fever in this country. The Government was fairly swept off its position of severe economy by an inundation of bellicose sentiment, and, in August, demanded a special vote of credit for 2,000,000*l.*, to which was added 183,000*l.* mainly incurred for paying the half-pay and the retired pay of the Navy monthly instead of quarterly. These two sums raised our estimated expenditure to 69,486,000*l.* The estimated surplus of 331,000*l.* was thus converted into an anticipated deficiency of about 2,245,539*l.* But Government did not spend the whole of the 2,000,000*l.* granted them by a vote of credit, and the actual receipts of the year exceeded the estimated total set down by the Chancellor of the Exchequer by 2,311,000*l.*—leaving a balance of 396,681*l.* to start with for the financial twelvemonth commenced on April 1, 1871-2.

We may now reverse our position and face the future. Mr. Lowe scans the probabilities before him with an exceeding cautious, not to say desponding eye. The revenue yielded to the Exchequer by the several sources of taxation, was larger by upwards of 2,000,000*l.* than he had ventured to set it down at in April, 1870. Trade is rapidly improving, pauperism is diminishing, manufactures are doing a brisk, and, by no means unprofitable, business, and employment is reviving in all the great centres of industry. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer reckons his probable income as smaller for this year than it actually turned out to be last. Supposes, he suggests, an unfavourable harvest, and what would be the outcome of sanguine calculations? So he puts down his income at 69,595,000*l.*, a decrease of it, from the same sources, of 350,000*l.*, as compared with last year. But the estimated expenditure of the year to come is reckoned at the enormous total of 72,308,000*l.*—or more than the estimated revenue by 2,713,000*l.* This is the deficit he has to provide for by additional taxation. Let us see how he proposed to accomplish the task.

We need not trouble either our readers or ourselves by laying before them the successive plans of what he *might* have done, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer glanced at, now wistfully, now disdainfully, and then dismissed. We confine ourselves here to his actual proposals. First, he announced his intention—an intention which, we are convinced he will have to abandon—of putting a duty on lucifer-matches, or rather on the boxes in which they are made up for sale—a halfpenny upon every box not containing more than 100 matches, "which, independently of the substance for ignition, are composed wholly of wood," and, a penny for a box of the like number, containing matches "wholly or partially of a material other than wood." This tax is borrowed from America—but there it is but an item of a vast system of indirect taxation—here it would stand almost alone among the industries so burdened. But we refrain from criticism, for the proposal is manifestly doomed. Next, Mr. Lowe resorted to a fresh adjustment of the Probate, Legacy, and Succession duties. He abolishes the technical distinctions between the Probate duties payable on foreign property, and by Englishmen domiciled abroad, and places all personal property on a scale, roughly stated, at two per cent. He proposes so to revise the Legacy and Succession duties as to make lineal descendants pay two per cent. instead of one, and brothers three and a half per cent. He calculated on getting by means of this charge 990,000*l.* a year, but in the present year not more than 300,000*l.* He means also to raise the income tax; but as a penny in the pound would give him too little, and twopence in the pound would give him too much, he proposes to convert the present poundage into a percentage, and to levy 2*l.* 4*s.* or 2 1-5 per cent. on every 100*l.* of income. This will yield him, he computes, 1,950,000*l.*, which, added to the match-box tax, estimated at 550,000*l.*, and to 300,000*l.* Legacy and Succession duties, will give a total of 2,800,000*l.*, and leave him an unexpended balance of 80,000*l.*

Such is the Budget for 1871-2. It has already been fiercely attacked. It will probably undergo considerable modification. It seems to have won no friends. It has stirred up hosts of enemies. Mr. Lowe has fought hard and manfully in defence of it—but if he does not, at the least, throw overboard his tax on lucifers, we fancy they will not be unlikely to upset him.

THE BUDGET DEBATE.

"THE dinner has been eaten, the wine has been drunk, and nothing now remains but the unpleasant task of paying the bill." In some such words as these Mr. Lowe pithily described the position of the House of Commons in reference to his Budget. There is, no doubt, a semblance of truth in this representation of the matter, but it does not cover the entire ground. The House of Commons, as a whole, has been almost as responsible as the Government for the estimated increase in expenditure for the year 1871-72, and has actually voted most of the items required to carry into effect the proposed reorganisation of our military defences, which has made so heavy an additional burden on the taxpayers of this country. The House, in truth, towards the close of last session, helped very much to excite, and largely participated in, the panic out of which the present embarrassment of the Cabinet arises. It has been the fault of the Government that when the event, together with the apprehensions which they stirred, had passed away, they did not take advantage of the change to frame their Army Estimates upon a scale suited to the known circumstances of the case. Even on the admission that reconstruction demanded the immediate outlay of a large additional sum in order to carry it into complete effect, one searches in vain for the traces of vigour and economy in order to cut down the customary extravagance which pervades nearly the whole of this department, and the curtailment of which might have given a considerable margin for providing the increased outlay rendered necessary by the projected reform. But both sides of the House, with the exception of a small minority of members who sit below the gangway, are infected with the mania, which they conceal under the euphonious designation of patriotism and prudence, of helping the Government whenever they fall into a spending fit in relation to what is called the defence of the country, and both promptly agree in voting away large additional sums for the year without taking thought of the "ways and means" by which the augmentation of expenditure would have to be provided for.

Mr. Lowe's Budget has placed the Administration in much the same awkward dilemma this session, in which Mr. Forster's Elementary Education Bill placed it last year; but with this striking difference. Last year the Government went over to the other side of the House for the assistance they required, and to put down a large section of their own supporters. This year the Conservatives have thought fit to come over to the discontented below the gangway, in the hope of defeating the Government itself. The country has been saved by only a few votes from a Ministerial crisis. On Monday night Mr. White, member for Brighton, on the motion for going into a Committee of Ways and Means, submitted the following resolution as an amendment—"That the additional taxation proposed by Her Majesty's Government would entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances." The object of the amendment was to enter one more solemn protest on the records of Parliament against the extravagant expenditure sanctioned and called for by Her Majesty's Ministers. It seems to have occurred to the leader of the Opposition that this was a fitting opportunity to lead the bulk of his forces over to the minority below the gangway, by whom this protest was likely to be supported. But neither he, nor those he led, interpreted the amendment in its natural sense. What they objected to was, not the amount of expenditure, but the modes in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to provide against it. By a little ingenuity, not to say sophistry, they translated the phrase additional "burdens which are not justified" into the particular taxes devised by Mr. Lowe's financial skill. The match tax, for instance, although an indirect impost, and, as such, regarded by them with favour, was truly described as a tax of the worst possible kind—confiscating an important branch of private industry which furnished occupation to large numbers of the very poorest portion of our metropolitan population, and sinning against every one of the conditions laid down by Adam Smith as necessary to be kept in view in adjusting indirect taxation. The increase in the rate of the succession duties would fall chiefly upon the landed gentry at times when they were least able to bear it, would produce no results beyond the hardships it might occasion, because the increased weight of the tax would only increase the disposition of landowners to evade it by disposing of their estates to their successors before their own death should bring them within range of the law. The addition made to the Income-tax, and the new mode of calculating the duties by a percentage, instead of by a penny in the pound, would introduce an immense amount of confusion and uncertainty in the existing mode of ascertaining the amount of

liabilities it entails, and would impose also a further burden upon property which it was ill able to bear. These considerations sufficed to induce a large number of the Tories to make common cause with the protesting Radicals, and, in a House consisting of nearly five hundred members, left Ministers in a bare majority of twenty-seven—the numbers being 230 in favour of the amendment—and 257 in favour of going into Committee of Ways and Means.

Of the debate itself we have little to say beyond the fact that every speaker who took part in it, except the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Premier, unequivocally condemned the Budget as the worst one that has been produced for many years past. Both sides, probably, were satisfied with the division—the Ministers with their victory; those who opposed them with the evident impression they had made upon the Government. It was altogether a remarkably instructive debate for Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. They must have learned from it how little they can expect to gain, or rather how much they are sure to lose, by yielding to the pressure of the spending departments against their own convictions. Of what use is it to economise two or three successive years, if in a succeeding year they throw down their arms, and rush into the ranks of financial *roués*. Such weakness reminds us of the conduct of the toper who, under the influence of a strong vow to abstain from drink, hurries himself past the door of the house of temptation, and then walks back again to "treat resolution." A Government which finds itself unable to resist the pressure brought to bear, at any particular juncture, upon its settled policy, would do much better to resign than to yield to what they are unable to approve; and, as Mr. Jacob Bright forcibly remarked, even if driven from power for doing what was right, it would be sure to have an honourable and a speedy resurrection. We trust that the Ministers will take to heart the warning they have received. They came into office upon the strength of certain avowed principles. Let them adhere to those principles through evil as well as through good report. Every exemplification of weakness in this respect, shakes afresh the loyalty of their followers. They have still at their back a large majority who would fain battle under their guidance the foes of political progress. It is a bad habit to be continually leading them into painful positions, which neither in conscience, nor in policy, they can maintain with a stout heart. To some extent, we think, they may retrace their steps with advantage. If they do so in time, they will recover their ascendancy—if they put a greater distance between themselves and their principles than they have done, they will ensure for themselves that overthrow which, besides hurling them from power, will greatly tarnish the reputation they have achieved.

THE SUBSIDISING OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

It will be seen from a statement elsewhere that a general Conference of Nonconformists is to be convened ere long at Manchester, to consider means for securing "the complete legislative recognition of religious equality," and that meanwhile a deputation is to wait upon Mr. Gladstone to inform him of the position of Nonconformists "respecting the application of public rates to denominational purposes." For some united action on the latter subject there is very urgent necessity. We take leave to say that if the course commenced in Liverpool, and provisionally accepted by several other school boards, of paying the fees of the children of indigent parents in denominational schools is carried out, these boards will before long become the mere paymasters of the sectarian schools, and an organisation for granting outdoor relief to the denominations. If it had been clearly understood that this was to be the first outcome of the Education Bill there would have been such an outcry throughout the country that it could never have been passed. The present claim, though actually sanctioned by the Act, was a totally unlooked-for result of the measure of last session, and the haste with which it is being pressed upon the school boards—even before accurate statistics of educational deficiency have been obtained, or any measures taken for meeting it—is both ominous and discreditable.

Is such a policy approved of by the great majority of the ratepayers in districts where school boards have been created? It is easy to say that the question is one for local decision, and not for the Education Department. But the boards elected to carry out the provisions of the Act do not—perhaps in the majority of cases—fairly represent the opinions of the ratepayers. The new-fangled device of the cumulative vote enabled the supporters of sectarian education—Church of England and Catholics combined for the occasion—to secure a majority on nearly every board, and thus to give effect to their own policy. There is no little reason to fear that before the importance of the question is fully understood by the ratepayers, their representatives on the school boards will, in many cases, have committed them to a course from which there will be no retreat. When once the payment of fees for children in sectarian schools, by boards which exercise no control over them whatever, has commenced, it will be almost impossible to refuse them hereafter. In Liverpool, as we have seen, private subscriptions to denominational schools are being generally withdrawn, in prospect of the funds being supplied from the rates. Aided by the payments of fees by the school board, and in receipt of the largely-augmented grants provided for under the new Code, it is probable that many of the denominational schools will be entirely relieved from the necessity of private contributions, and thus be altogether supported at the ratepayers' expense. Only the school boards will have no voice in the management of the schools they will have to support, thus reversing the constitutional maxim that taxation and representation should go together.

We earnestly hope that the Government will not ignore the strong and angry feeling which is spreading upon this subject, and which threatens to break up the Liberal party in many of our large towns. The objecting ratepayers are in the hands of their boards elected by the device of cumulative voting, but they will not fail to discover some remedy for this great injustice. We hear both in Birmingham and Liverpool of an intention on the part of some ratepayers to refuse to pay this new Church-rate, and it can hardly be doubted, when it is found that the maintenance of denominational schools is thus to a great extent cast on the rates, this feeling will increase. Professor Huxley is a fair specimen of the Liberal members of school boards, who were disposed to sacrifice much in order to carry out effectively the new Education Act. He has now abandoned the task as utterly hopeless. At the last meeting of the London Board he stated that he had cordially supported the resolution in favour of unsectarian education; but as it was now proposed thoroughly and completely to violate its spirit, he would not only take no share in carrying out the proposal for paying the fees in question, but would undertake to raise a discussion in the case of every child. That, indeed, is the way to meet a monstrous injustice.

Happily the members of the London Board are not yet committed to Canon Cromwell's resolution, and have postponed its consideration by adopting the "previous question." In the course of the discussion, Dr. Angus gave some striking illustrations of the way in which that proposal would work. He referred to one metropolitan district where there are denominational schools containing about 2,000 children who now pay no fees, and which could accommodate 4,000 more. When these schools are filled up, the cost of the teaching of the 6,000 children would be about 3,000*l.* a year; so that with the Government grant the schools which incur no expense in accommodating these children would receive for them about 20*s.* a head. And the Board would be the paymasters without being able to interfere with the management of the schools they were thus called upon to subsidise. This is, however, only one district of the metropolis. In others, of course, the same course must be pursued. Everywhere the managers of denominational schools would find it far more agreeable to receive the fees for indigent children and remain independent rather than place themselves under the control of the Board. How could they, moreover, continue to require school fees from those who now pay them? 30,000*l.* drawn from the rates would soon be expended in subsidising the denominational schools of London after this fashion, and as the present subscriptions would cease, the payment of these fees *must go on*. The Board might well pause with apprehension in contemplating a result which would leave them with few other functions besides that of handing over to sectarian schools, Church, Wesleyan, and Catholics, these sums of money over which they would have no control. They were elected to supply educational deficiencies by creating new schools. Under the new scheme they will simply have to fill up the existing sectarian schools.

In the debate at the Guildhall last Wednesday, Dr. Barry contended that if the Board did not pay the school fees of indigent children, they would be violating the religious liberty of every parent, and, indeed, of every child, because their choice of schools would be restricted. Have they not that choice now, and if so why are not these schools filled? We want compulsion, is the reply. But before we accept a method which has broken down in America, and directly applied would break down here, let us see where it is to lead us. If it is to take the whole cost of the denominational schools off the shoulders of those who now contribute to them, and thrust it jointly upon the Education Department and the School Board, is it not simply monstrous that these institutions should remain altogether independent, and that the ratepayers should have to pay first in *taxes* and then in *rates*, to enable Church of England, Wesleyan, and Catholic school managers to teach whatever they please. Is that what we have come to under a Liberal Government *pa excellence*? Have ratepayers no consciences and no rights?

DETACHED NOTES.

Though the full and detailed tabular results of the Census of 1871 will not be known for about two years, some of the returns of population in the towns are already published, by favour of the local registrars. We subjoin a few of them:—

	Pop. 1871.	Increase in the decade.
Sheffield	240,000	55,000
Bradford	146,000	42,000
Barnsley	23,021	5,136
Leeds (Union)	162,407	28,410
Normanton	3,448	2,855
Burslem	20,971	3,153
Hanley	39,944	7,991
Carlisle	31,286	1,869
Paisley	48,239	820
Bolton	82,841	12,446
Leicester	95,193	27,918
Preston	85,408	2,423
Hull	118,130	20,469
Greenock	58,405	15,511
Dundee	121,464	31,947
Aberdeen	88,000	14,100

These figures, to a great extent, tell their own tale. In every detailed account we have seen the females outnumbered the males to the extent of about ten per cent. The remarkable increase in the population of Normanton is, of course, due to railways. Between 1851 and 1861 the growth of Bradford was very small compared with the present decade—the manufactures of the town having received an enormous development since 1861. The substantial increase in Leicester is a sign of the very flourishing condition of the local manufactures. Speaking of the East Riding, the *Leeds Mercury* remarks that most of the agricultural towns and villages have decreased in population. "Whilst farming flourishes, farm labourers earn wages upon which they and their families can barely exist, and many of them find only partial employment. All, therefore, who have the means to remove, either flock to large towns where work and better wages are obtained, or help to swell the yearly exodus to Canada and other parts, where there is scope for their industry." What is taking place in the East Riding is no doubt characteristic of all rural districts bordering upon large manufacturing towns.

The borough of Bradford is following the example of Leeds by starting "public-houses without the drink." On Saturday last two "disestablished" beerhouses were formally opened in one of the lowest parts of Bradford as "British Workman Nos. 1 and 2," and a body of about a thousand Leeds workmen, as representatives of the fourteen houses which flourish there, came over by special train to assist on the occasion. The founder of "No. 1" in Bradford is, as may be supposed, the philanthropic Sir Titus Salt, who, curiously enough, is, with his son, the joint tenant of the "Alpaca Inn!" At an evening meeting many of the Leeds artisans spoke in enthusiastic terms of the "homelike and snug character" of their new clubs. "All men," said one of them, "whether teetotalers or not, were made welcome at each and all of the houses, and it was the endeavour of the managers to make everybody comfortable. It was to this fact that the movement owed much of its success." In Bradford the movement has been taken up with characteristic energy. A strong and numerous executive committee has been appointed to multiply these houses in the town, and Sir Titus has engaged to bear the cost of every eleventh "British Workman" established. In Leeds we find that those who are engaged in this good work have established a weekly paper, and there is no doubt that the movement is calculated to be of immense benefit to the working population of our large towns. The publicans will perhaps find the "British Workman" to be a more formidable foe of their vested interests than the Home Secretary himself.

In another column we give a sketch of the annual meeting of the United Methodist Free Churches at Exeter Hall. A few days previously, at a meeting of

the Leeds Congregational Churches a paper was read by the Rev. H. Tarrant describing the "Points of Union between Congregationalists and Free Methodists," and advocating their closer connexion. The writer thus states in what respects, according to his view, a closer union between the two bodies is practicable:—

On the part of the Independents all that was necessary was that they should pronounce the ministers and churches of the Free Methodists eligible for admission into the Congregational Union of England and Wales; on the part of the Free Methodists, all that was necessary was that the Assembly should distinctly declare itself open to any Independent church which might prefer a periodical change of ministers, and to any Independent minister, otherwise acceptable to it, who might prefer the itinerancy to a settled pastorate. From this simple arrangement a gradual interfusion of the two bodies would gradually flow. The Union meetings would become common ground, where their county associations, and where the national association of the Free Methodists and the Free Methodist Assembly, as the special combination for a special object, would simply continue its work. There was no reason why the itinerancy and a settled pastorate should not exist side by side; their freedom should show itself in the ease with which one system or theot her could be adopted as seemed most desirable; indefinite settlement and periodical removal ought to be perfectly optional. A precedent for the arrangement proposed was to be found in the constitution of the autumnal meeting of the Baptists, where the Particular and General Baptists formed a joint body. The formal proclamation of alliance between Independents and Free Methodists in the way indicated would quickly be followed by local union, voluntarily consummated in all parts of the country, with a view especially to the combination of lay forces, and the supply of villages with preaching. Their colleges would also be thrown open to young men studying for the Free Methodist itinerancy, on the understanding that they might look to Free Methodist subscribers for some amount of support.

We do not know how far the proposal thus openly advocated meets with support of the Free Methodists generally, who now compose a considerable denomination, comprising 300 ministers, 68,000 members, and 3400 local preachers. In the West Riding, however, there are signs that they are favourable to the object, and it was stated that the only reason why the subject was thus brought forward was because of the strong longing for union on the part of members of the Methodist Free Church. Thus reinforced, the Congregationalists of England would undoubtedly present an imposing front; but the difficulties in the way of a union are unquestionably great. The Free Church and U. P.'s, much more akin in doctrine and church government than the Congregationalists and Free Methodists, have been several years discussing the union question, but have not yet agreed upon the terms.

About ten days ago a rather startling telegram appeared in the *Echo* to the effect that Mr. Sumner had advocated a protectorate over Ireland. It seems that the words "the island"—meaning St. Domingo—were by a telegraphic blunder transformed into "Ireland." If the original announcement did not excite much surprise on this side the Atlantic, it was owing to the disrepute into which the distinguished Senator has fallen by his violent and bitter antagonism towards England. Mr. Sumner has not yet shown his teeth in connection with the negotiations of the High Joint Commission. We hope he is now cured of his Anglophobia. One sign of his returning good sense is the announcement that he is about to propose to the Senate the initiative of some measure for the establishment of an International Court to settle difficulties between nations. In this we can heartily go with Mr. Sumner.

THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

(Continued from page 398.)

question. They had the whole subject now before them; and this was, as he had contended before, the right time to settle first principles, so that they might be ready to carry those principles into action when the time arrived. (Cries of "Divide" and "Vote.")

The Rev. J. A. PICTON said Dr. Barry had put clearly and forcibly the chief difficulty which he (Mr. Picton) had always felt to Mr. Rodgers's resolution—namely, that if they employed compulsion on the one hand and took away relief on the other, they also took away the power of choice from the parents. That argument was just, but there was a limit to it, because they could not provide schools to suit every conscience. Take the case of the Roman Catholics, it would be considered a hardship to compel their children to go to school without providing that they should be free to go to a school taught by a Roman Catholic priest; and it would be the same with respect to other denominations. And then, on the other hand, there would be some men who would not let their children go to a school where texts from Scripture were hung on the walls. As to the subject of denominational teaching, Dr. Miller had said on a previous occasion that there was little use discussing it, as thirty-nine of the members had pledged themselves to their constituents to support religious teaching in the schools; but he thought what the thirty-nine members pledged themselves to was undenominational religious teaching, because he supposed that not a single member undertook to advocate denominational religious teaching. They had been told by the Rev. Mr. Mee that he should put in a claim for the fees of twenty-five children alone; and altogether about 10,000 or 15,000 children might be expected to be thrown on the board for payment of their fees to denominational schools; and the Church of England, having the largest number of schools, would get the greatest benefit from those payments. He contended that schools had a very close connection with the churches to which they were attached, and adduced as proof an extract from Mr. Fitch's report relative to Wesleyan schools. He described the benefits to be derived by the denominational schools from the payment of the fees as a concurrent endowment, and saw no reason why the Church which had a majority of schools should be subsidised in that way. When the board schools were built all would be admitted on equal terms. There were schools in the metropolis where the children paid only a penny a week, and even that was almost more than they could afford to pay. The rev. gentleman concluded by referring to the evils of a system of concurrent endowment.

Mr. INGLE asked why should the ratepayers be saddled with taxation to erect schools for indigent children while there were Government inspected schools in their district able to accommodate them? Suppose in a given district there were forty children belonging to each of the Baptist, Wesleyan, Romanist, and Anglican Churches, whose parents could not pay their fees, and for whom there was room in the school of their denomination, why should a new school be erected at the ratepayers' expense, when all that was required to meet the necessity of the case could be secured by the payment of the weekly fees alone? To erect a school under such circumstances would simply be wasteful expenditure. And, again, there was the question of delay. If they wait till board schools were erected, considerable time would be lost, let them do what they might. Nothing can be done that year, at any rate. The time that must necessarily be occupied in the selection of sites, obtaining the consent of the Education Department, afterwards securing the land, and then building, &c., would take all 1871. Let them do something at once; and by immediately compelling children to go to existing schools, we would do more to promote the welfare of those whom we were established to benefit than all the abstract resolutions they could ever pass.

Mr. HUTCHINS would not stop to inquire whether the greater injustice would be done to the Catholics if the motion or the amendment were carried, but he would say that, whatever course was taken, the Roman Catholics would not give up their children to the school board, but they would keep their own schools open in any event. He should vote for the amendment. The compulsory system could not be carried out if the motion were adopted. In the interest of the ratepayers it was the duty of the board to fill the existing schools first, and then to build their undenominational schools.

Mr. MORLEY, M.P., said he had no wish to avoid any responsibility connected with this subject, but he thought it possible there might be under discussion by the committee some arrangement which might help them out of the difficulty. He had a great aversion to compulsion, and a great indisposition to pay fees unnecessarily; but he remembered the 25th section, which implied the right of a parent to select the school to which he should send his child. He was extremely anxious to keep the board clear of denominational schools. He was largely connected with denominational schools; but he should be glad to see every school in England brought under the school board, and he should consider it his duty to bring all the schools he could in contact with the board. He thought the resolution of Mr. W. H, Smith, M.P., had given a tone to the character of the education which the board would encourage, that would in time be attractive to the schools. His sympathies were with Mr. Rodgers's motion; but at the same time he felt that the question would not lose, but might gain, by delaying its consideration for a time.

A motion for the adjournment of the debate was then negatived by thirty-six to seven.

Mr. LUCRAFT said that the working classes wanted schools wherein their children and themselves might get education free, if necessary. He did not think the ratepayers would find fault with the building of schools. When a school had been built it would be worth the money it had cost, whereas if school fees were paid to other schools it was so much money gone for ever. What he wanted to see was schools in which the working man's child would receive an education which would fit him to learn his trade; and this could be done only in schools of their own. ("Hear, hear," and "No, no.") At any rate it could be done better in schools of their own than anywhere else. If they had their own schools they could use them of an evening, which could not be done with the existing schools. The question was not so much what the boards had a right to do, but what the country expected them to do—(Hear, hear)—and one thing the country expected was that the boards would have nothing to do with denominational schools. Why had Parliament doubled the pay to the denominational schools?

The Rev. Canon CROMWELL said that was not the fact; it had not been doubled,

Mr. LUCRAFT said at all events there had been an increase in the pay as a sort of compensation for the schools that would be established by the ratepayers. If that was so, then Parliament must have contemplated the establishment of these rate-aided schools in all districts.

Mr. W. H. SMITH, M.P., pointed out that if a parent was compelled to send his child to a school, the Act gave the parent power to select the school to which the child should be sent. The 25th section gave the parent that power. He thought that some members of the board had misinterpreted the spirit of the Act. In his opinion the spirit of the Act was to secure perfect liberty of conscience, combined with perfect liberty on the part of the parent to send his children to such school as he might think proper. Some of the members of the board seemed to be not aware of this. He begged to say, in reply to Mr. Picton's observations, that there had been no intention to subsidise an ecclesiastical establishment; and that the payment of fees was not laying down any principle of concurrent endowment of an alarming character, as there would be large charges incurred at the same time by the recipients of those fees. The education of children cost on an average 30s. The average of the pence and the Government grants fell below that sum, and the loss had to be made up by the school managers, who would, therefore, be endowed with a deficiency in the case of children sent to them by the board, as endowment which very few churches would care to receive.

Mr. GREEN said he thought difficulties had been created by the speakers which did not exist in the Act. He could not vote either for the motion or the amendment. He thought the board had no power to select the schools to which the parent should send his children; therefore, what would be the use of passing a resolution which could not be enforced? He submitted that if the bye-law were passed against payment, yet a parent might compel the board to pay the fees, notwithstanding such bye-law.

Mr. CHATFIELD CLARKE asked whether, if there were 100 children of any denomination in a parish with a total of 400 children, the School Board would not have power to establish a distinct school for them? He thought previous speakers had overlooked the fact that the board were regulated by clauses as to compulsion, but were left free as to the question of payment or remission of fees.

The Rev. JOHN RODGERS, in replying briefly to some of the arguments that had been used, said that they were anxious to get to work, but those who supported the amendment wished to do it by filling the existing denominational schools, whereas he desired that they should begin the work by the establishment of board schools. Dr. Barry had said that the denominational schools would soon be filled when the compulsory clause was put in force. If so, what more did they want? (Laughter.) It was the duty of the board, then, to look after those who could not afford to pay to go into the denominational schools, and they were ready to do it; and upon entering upon a work of that kind they could not do better than express to the country their determination to carry on the education entrusted to them in an undenominational and unsectarian spirit. Canon Cromwell had told them that the schools were now virtually undenominational. If so, his motion would have no reference to them—(laughter)—as it referred only to denominational schools; but he contended that the schools were as much denominational since the 31st March as they were before. Take his own school—it had not been altered one iota except that they had hung up the new list. They still taught the Church catechism, and were teaching just as before. Roman Catholic schools might do the same, and, indeed, might have high mass in the schoolrooms if they liked, as the Church schools might have the highest ritualistic service if they pleased. The Baptist and other denominations might teach their respective opinions still, and, in fact, they were denominational schools just as before. He agreed to what had been said, that if the members pledged themselves to support a religious education it was an undenominational religion, and in justice to such a pledge the board ought to adopt the motion.

A division was then taken on the amendment, which was carried by twenty-three against twenty, and became the substantive motion.

Mr. CHATFEILD CLARKE then proposed an amendment:—

That it be an instruction to the committee on Section 74 of this Act, to report on the remission of the whole or any part of the fees in the board schools of any child when his parent satisfies the school board that he is unable, from poverty, to pay the same, in the way that is most economical and efficient: but this board cannot sanction the payment of the school fees out of the rates in denominational public elementary schools.

He expressed the opinion that Canon Cromwell's motion could not be accepted, because it was wholly one-sided; and if they decided to pay the fees the motion was altogether silent on the important question of remission. He was sorry to differ from Mrs. Anderson, but he believed there would be a large number of children whose fees would have to be remitted, and there was no doubt about it that the board must recognise the necessity of remitting the fees to a certain extent.

Mr. GREEN moved, and Mr. TABRUM seconded, "the previous question."

Professor HUXLEY supported the moving of "the previous question," because he had the very strongest feeling about this resolution now before the board—so strong a feeling, that if any motion

of that kind became part of the regulations of the board, he should personally and individually decline to take any share in carrying out conditions which he believed entirely unjust and so utterly opposed to what was expedient and what was right. He had already, in speaking on the first amendment, expressed himself in clear terms as to the grounds upon which he held that view, and he had heard nothing since in the course of the debate that had tended to weaken the impression that he had before of the inexpediency and injustice of any such regulations as these. He repeated that, to his mind, this was neither more nor less than a scheme for giving outdoor relief to denominational education. In that sense he would oppose it, and would take no share in carrying it out ; and if such a scheme were carried out, he would undertake to raise a discussion on the case of every child. (Hear, hear.) The time for compromise was over in this matter. As Mr. Lucraft had said, the country was sick of denominational schools, and wanted to be rid of them. (Cries of "No, no.") He had done his best since he had been to the board to work harmoniously. Very often he had even violated his sense of what was right for the purpose of enabling this Act to be carried into operation; and he appealed to the hon. member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) whether he had not given his best support to the carrying of his resolution—(Hear, hear) ; but if he had imagined that the spirit of that resolution would have been so thoroughly and completely violated, as it appeared to be by this amendment, he would have done his best to vote against it. If members would only think how exceedingly strong the opposition was they would hardly be prepared to press the subject on at present. The amendment went dead against his own conscience, and was a violation of the plainest justice. It had been carried only by a majority of two, and if put into practice he should offer it every opposition.

The Rev. Dr. Angus thought the question was one of deep interest, and he was in favour of delay, which was the object of the previous question. He thought it well to say that a great number of misstatements—unintentional, no doubt—had been made in the previous debate. He had the strongest feeling that the denominational schools ought not to be interfered with by the board ; on the contrary, they should rejoice to see the denominational schools filled. His conviction was clear that, under the double clauses of compulsory attendance and lengthened school term from five to thirteen all the good denominational schools would be filled entirely independent of the poorer children. It seemed to him that in the interest of the denominational schools no resolution was required at all in relation to the poorer children. The two circumstances he had pointed out would tend to fill those schools. In a district which he knew the compulsory clause would have the effect of shutting up all the children in one or two denominational schools, whereas he understood the compulsory clause was intended as a protection against denominational schools. In any district where schools of different denominations already existed, sufficient to occupy the whole ground, and the board resolved to support them all round by means of concurrent endowment, it would be just to say, "You must send your children to school, and we leave you free to choose the school to which to send them"; but in point of fact the different districts of the metropolis were not supplied equally with denominational schools. In a district he knew there was a population of 220,000 persons, and 36,000 children ought to be attending school, according to the proportion shown by the Government Department; but there were in fact only 16,000 or 17,000 at school, and nearly 20,000 went to no school. In the schools of that district there was room for 4,000, and therefore the board would have to provide room for 16,000. In this state of things he thought it would be going out of their way to pay for the attendance of the 4,000, who would be quite sure to find their way to the denominational schools in any case ; but in the district he referred to the denominational schools were nearly all of one kind, and the board must bear in mind that they would have to deal with the Nonconformist children, Roman Catholic children, and Jewish children, who would prefer to have religious education without any denominationalism. On the question of expense in the schools he referred to he might say that of the 16,000, about 2,000 now paid no fees at all. If those schools were filled up with 4,000 more children whose fees were paid, the cost of the teaching of the 6,000 children would be about 3,000*l.* a year ; so that with the Government grant the schools which had not to go to any expense in accommodating these children would receive for them about 20*s.* a head. He thought the best plan would be for the board, instead of paying to other schools the fees of 16,000 children in that district, to find accommodation in their own schools.

Mr. Currie thought it very desirable that the board should assent to the previous question, and have some delay. The majority in favour of the motion had been very small, and he thought the question could hardly be decided that day—(Hear, hear) and that they might wait for a time. He hoped the board would not be dismayed by the threat of Professor Huxley, that he would oppose every application when it came before the board.

Professor Huxley : It was only an expression of my intention. It was not a threat. (Laughter.)

Mr. Currie continued to say, with reference to the remarks of Mr. Lucraft, that there were other members on the board who represented the working classes to a far greater number than did Mr. Lucraft.

The Rev. Dr. Rigg was quite convinced that this whole discussion had been prematurely raised, and he greatly deplored the want of discretion which raised this discussion in the first instance. It was their haste to get something done before they were ready to do it which had led to this matter being brought up at this unfortunate conjuncture. The question now was not whether they should pass Canon Cromwell's resolution, but whether they should consider it at all now. He could not help saying that Dr. Angus had called attention to points of great weight for the consideration of the board.

Sir T. Tilson also approved of the postponement of any decision, and again recommended that nothing should be done until the report of the committee was brought forward. He hoped the committee would see the importance of reporting as soon as possible.

The Rev. Canon Cromwell, seeing the desire of the board to be that more time should be given for consideration, intimated his readiness to withdraw his motion for the present, with the understanding that he should have the privilege of bringing it forward at some other time.

The "previous question" was carried by 24 to 1 ; several members declined to vote.

Correspondence.

PROPOSED COLLEGE FOR MINISTERS' DAUGHTERS AND MR. H. O. WILLS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Sir,—Any interest manifested in the education of ministers' daughters must be welcomed by the promoters of the above scheme. To Mr. H. O. Wills I am indebted for an expression of opinion through your columns. From a lady who conducts a boarding-school in the West of England I received a letter containing the same suggestion. The identical phraseology of that letter was repeated in an anonymous communication, published in the *English Independent*, and signed "Eclectic." The present movement is advocated for the following reasons :—

1. Two years ago Miss Wallis, of Sawbridgeworth, and Mrs. Bartlett, Hillside, Hitchin, recommended the very plan Mr. Wills proposes. They generously expended time and money in personal exertion, and advertising and sending forth appeals. They obtained no response, and were reluctantly compelled to forego any further attempt.* Moreover, at least three of the county associations considered their scheme, but it found no satisfactory encouragement. In taking up the movement afresh it did not appear wise to prosecute a plan which had already failed. And, may I add, it seems a little hard that gentlemen should not have said a word for this abandoned project until another found advocacy.

2. Mr. Wills proposes that a fund should be raised, the interest of which should be expended in sending girls to existing schools. For this end 50,000*l.* would barely suffice. It appears to some perfectly hopeless to expect the churches to raise such a capital, over the expenditure of which they would have a very limited control. It must be said also that against large endowments *in connection with education* there are powerful prejudices. The history of such endowments is not one that tells in their favour. Trustees have grown incircumspect. Any way, the necessity of depending upon a yearly subscription list has been found healthy in its influence.

3. If instead of a large endowment, subscriptions of 2,000*l.* per annum were sought, it would be all but indispensable that an institution so supported should live before the eye of the denomination. Subscribers must see the results. There must be confidence commanded by a succession of competent teachers and professors.

4. The terms of some of the best ladies' schools are sixty guineas a year, and upwards. Not more than half this sum could be paid by trustees with a minister's daughter. But a noble-minded girl who by means of a well-known charitable fund should, at lower terms, be sent to a fashionable boarding-school, could not fail to be marked. Class feeling is not unknown among young ladies. It is, however, a very grievous and serious thing to wound the susceptibilities of a sensitive girl. I have appealed to ministers who could better judge than myself, because they had children, whether *they* would thus expose their daughters. The answer has been invariably "no." Why should the daughters of any of our brethren be subject to this stigma? In the case of some pastors it would be harder to bear, just because their children could not put in an appearance in the school like the daughters of the wealthy. There would be nothing for them but to be sent to inferior schools, which would raise endless prejudices against the whole movement.

5. I have letters by me from ladies at the head of high-class schools—such ladies as Miss Eisdell, of Epsom. Their language is, "We entirely approve of the idea of a separate institution. It will work better." It is indeed a singular fact that the lady in the West to whom I have referred, spoke strongly in a letter to me of the sacrifice and difficulty of receiving ministers' daughters at lower terms. A professor in one of our theological colleges writes :—"An institution of our own will, in the long run, be both cheaper and far preferable."

* It has been a beautiful act of Mrs. Bartlett, who saw her own proposal neglected, that she has sent 10*l.*, and a promise of two guineas a year, to the institution proposed.

6. The managers of the proposed college have before them scores of letters from ministers who express a decided preference for the present scheme. Their wishes as fathers are clearly entitled to great consideration. Some of them lay stress on the fact that the principles of their daughters as Dissenters are not always safe under another system. This is a feature of the case exceedingly important, but it cannot be dwelt upon.

7. To say nothing of the umbrage taken by ladies whose schools were not placed on the selected list, and the injustice that might be caused, what would have to be done in the constant changes incident to the government of schools? To withdraw patronage and strike a school off the list would be a serious disaster to a lady who had stepped into the place of a retiring principal. It would have to be done, but managers would shrink from such a step.

But while these considerations have force with the advocates of the present scheme, there is no reason why gentlemen who take a different view should not follow their own convictions. There are widows of ministers who would find their happiness in receiving at reduced terms the daughters of pastors. There might be ministers who would prefer this method. There is room for both schemes, and nothing to hinder the carrying out of the proposal made by Mr. Wills. The thirty-three managers who have, after much thought upon the subject, adopted the plan of founding a thoroughly good college, believe this to be as free from objection as it is possible to expect. High religious and literary advantages will be commanded, and maintained by a succession of competent teachers. The results will distinctly come before the churches ; the moral and intellectual nature will be aided by the creation of a fine tone in the institution ; sympathy with the missionary and other operations of the denomination will be secured ; attachment to Evangelical Nonconformist principles will be strengthened ; and the confidence of the churches confirmed by the vigilant supervision of efficient managers and trustees. It may be that the college will afterwards be open to the children of the laity at higher terms. But if not, the pupils will surely not be recluses. They would have manifold opportunities of general social intercourse. Certainly the contributors, who will be the governing body, will be accessible to the lessons of experience.

I hope I may not be thought to write as a special pleader. To have gained a hearing for a new movement amidst so many pressing claims has been fraught with difficulty. Prayer and labour during the last few months have been incessant. Now that hope approaches realisation objections that can serve no purpose but to lay an arrest upon the completion of the scheme naturally awaken distress. The responsibility of suspending contributions at this point is very grave. A large number of girls are anxiously waiting entrance to the college. Many of them have attained the ages of fifteen and sixteen, and are longing for a year or so of a better education than their parents have been able to give them. Should this scheme be delayed, to them the opportunity will be for ever gone. Let me earnestly plead on behalf of these children of Christ's servants that we do not frustrate a purpose of mercy and blessing by waiting for an impossible perfection.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

WILLIAM GUEST.

Woodville, Gravesend,
April 19, 1871.

REPUBLICANISM IN ENGLAND, II.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Sir,—In my former letter, I stated in outline the reasons that would influence me to give a longer trial to monarchical institutions, as limited by our representative system, rather than insist upon the adoption of a pure Republic. At the same time I took it upon me to warn the Liberal party among us, and especially the Parliamentary leaders, how greatly, in my opinion, the durability of our present system of Government depends upon the domestic and foreign policy which they promote and pursue. Also, I promised to name in a second communication, those practical conditions, or some of them, under which the toiling multitude, and the large number who fain would toil were the opportunity afforded them, might be reconciled to the continuance of the British Monarchy. Encouraged by the terms in which you have been pleased to commend me to your readers, and especially by the entire agreement which you have expressed with my pointed appeal to Mr. Gladstone and his political followers, I proceed to fulfil my promise.

I shall make no attempt, even in bare mention, to exhaust the subject as to either of its main branches,—constitutional questions, or practical measures. My aim will be, to introduce such of each sort as will include or suggest the rest, or, at least, serve as sufficient samples of the whole.

The constitutional points on which, as I believe, the Monarchy requires the truly conservative support of further legislation, embrace the Established Church, the House of Lords, the Parliamentary Suffrage, the Electoral Districts, and the Duration of Parliament.

1. *The Established Church.*

The disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England is seen, by all who have eyes and choose to use them, to be a logical and inevitable consequence of the like action with respect to the Church in Ireland.

It was not the simple conversion of the Church of England in Ireland from a State Establishment to a Voluntary Communion, but, comprising as it did in its sweep the Church of Rome as well as the Church of England, and the Presbyterians no less than the Episcopalians, it was a measure of religious equality total and universal in its character—a measure, in fact, "for the liberation of religion from State patronage and control."

The application of the same rule to the whole United Kingdom is as much a political necessity as it is a logical consequence. It is imagined, pretended, or believed—by some, one of the three; by others, another—that the Established Church, as it now stands, is a main bulwark of the Throne. No doubt it was in such times as the reign of Charles I.; but, if it restored the Throne, it did not rescue the King. On the contrary, then, as in preceding and some subsequent reigns, the State-Church was the chief bulwark of political tyranny. The present dynasty was placed upon the Throne, not on the principle of a State-Church, but on the principle of religious liberty. The toleration of King William III.'s reign was religious liberty in the bud; we, now living, enjoy it in the full-blown flower; but neither we nor our children will reap the ripe fruit of all this fair promise until religion is entirely liberated from State patronage and State control. The present Monarch has shown, far more distinctly than bishops, priests, and deacons like, that she does not rely for regal safety upon the attributes and offices of the State-Church. She worships with at least as much satisfaction in Crathie as at Whippingham, has paid compliments to Presbyterian preachers which she never vouchsafed to Episcopalian divines, and, while arranging marriage feasts during the season of Lent, has presented sacramental plate for use in edifices where forms of consecration are regarded as rags of Popery.

The English Throne is no longer the peculiar, much less the exclusive care of mitred prelates. The monarch owes governing authority, not to their consecrating oil, but to the national consent. "Be wise, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth." Give up claims that cannot be enforced, and are endangered in exact proportion as they are insisted upon. I have heard it said, that, in a private company, the leader of the Liberal party defended Ritualistic extravagances from the objections of one of his Nonconformist followers by replying, "Why not, since they pay for the thing out of their own pockets?" Exactly so; they may do what they like with their own; but the funds, and the lands, and the palaces, and the parsonages, by which peers spiritual are maintained, with all other orders of the clergy, are not their own, but belong to that whole nation of which themselves and their adherents form, I estimate, very far fewer than the half. I abstain from pi[illegible]ng the glaring contrast between "the Primate of all England" and "the Prince of the Apostles," and finish as I began, by declaring the disestablishment and disendowment of the State Church in England to be as much a political necessity for the British Monarchy as it is a logical consequence of the dishabilitation of the State Church in Ireland.

2. *The House of Lords.*

Perhaps there may be some mystic connection between hereditary kingship and hereditary peerage, though we purblind mortals fail to perceive it. But, if so, the conclusion goes against the King. The national head who cannot keep his place without being surrounded by a privileged order, must be unfit for it. However, we have coronets as well as a crown; and let us make the best of them. If, nevertheless, a second House of Parliament is pleaded for as a security for wise legislation, let it at least be composed of wise men. Of peers spiritual no more need be said; if they are to cease from being State functionaries, they will disappear from the Parliament Houses. I have nothing offensive to say about "the tenth transmittor of a foolish face." On the contrary, if the sons of lords made good use of their advantages, they might be as wise as other people, as wise as the man whose merit, real or supposed, first lifted his family into the peerage. But, as a rule, applicable to all ranks and classes, we well know that wisdom goes not by inheritance. Why were bishops and abbots placed in Parliament? As the fittest men to look after the interests of the Church. Why are Lord Chancellors and Chief Justices ennobled? As the fittest men to advise in the making and the administration of law, especially in the House which exercises a supreme judicature; as "law lords," in fact. The idea of these two kinds of infusion into the peerage, in abatement of mere hereditary right, ought to be a guide to such a reform in the House of Lords as will cause it to work in smoother and fuller harmony with the increasingly popular character of our representative system.

It is impossible to discuss the matter in a letter; but some modification of the House of Lords and of its powers is absolutely necessary for the preservation either of the monarchy or of the peerage; and it must be such as will secure its members from being dependent upon either monarch or minister, make it amenable to the people, and reduce within proper limits its powers by the repeated exercise of a prohibitory veto to put off bills which it does not like, but which have passed the House of Commons.

3. *The Parliamentary Suffrage.*

The question, how long the present suffrage may suffice, depends upon other questions. First, we shall see how it will work under the ballot. Secondly, we must get rid of the "unicorn" experiment, a fraud as well as a fallacy. Thirdly, let us beware of losing ourselves in the unknown region into which the "cumulative" fancy would lead us astray. Fourthly, we must have the lodger vote made as sure and as easy as the householder franchise. In the mean time, one would fain hope that the increase of school education and of political knowledge, will make a larger number of those who have a vote already, more assiduous and more conscientious in its use.

4. *The Electoral Districts.*

But the most essential defect in the representation of the people, as making an approach at least to a really national character, comes out of the anomalous, irregular, unequal, and extremely imperfect arrangement of the Electoral Districts. I will not tie myself down to the advocacy of a strict mathematical division of the country into so many foursided pieces of equal size, or of a precise arithmetical distribution of the people into constituencies of so many hundreds or thousands a piece. Both methods would probably be found to be more or less impracticable, or, if practicable, open to objections or difficulties not contemplated by their projectors and supporters. The lesson is hard, and rarely learnt; yet, it is very desirable to be guided by the lights of past experience, instead of making our own, in which we are sure to be much knocked about before we get into smooth water or upon a straight and level road. At any rate, the readjustment of electoral districts is absolutely requisite in order to general content with existing institutions; and, though, happily for us, there is no such disintegrating disparity among ourselves as we behold between the Commune sitting in Paris and the Assembly sitting in Versailles, yet that deplorable conflict should be enough to set all of us, rich and poor, country and town, upon an honest revision of the distribution of seats in Parliament, so as to bring all our towns, as well as the counties, into the scheme of representation, and all our solid interests, whether measured by the census, the income-tax, or the acre, into something like equal and thorough participation in the political rights of British citizenship.

5. *The Duration of Parliaments.*

There was a time when more was said in argument for shorter Parliaments than has been heard in my day. But, if the preceding four points surpass this in importance, neither do they altogether eclipse it, nor, what is more, would all of them together constitute a perfect guarantee without it. In the French National Assembly we see what a representative body elected by universal suffrage may do or may attempt; and English history, even in the best times, is not without exemplification of the possibility of a people making a rod for their own backs. Moreover, without having much, if any, misgiving as to the practical working of the Ballot, which, it seems, we shall use at the next general election, I am not certain but that it may lead to some untoward results and consequences bearing upon the present point; and for the restraint and correction of which shorter Parliaments would afford the surest means. At all events, it is perfectly plain that the sense of responsibility under which strong vows are made at the hustings or in the candidate's address, has not always vitality enough to last so long as seven years; and, though I should like annual Parliaments best, yet, considering the inconvenient, if not disturbing, influence inseparable from general elections, even without nominations and under the Ballot, it seems to me that three sessions would present a fair point of termination, at least for a first experiment.

This letter is already too long; I will therefore end for the present by simply naming some of the chief measures of practical legislation which would, in my opinion, if fairly settled, tend to make the people content without having recourse to the substitution for our limited Monarchy of a simple Republic. The questions are the following:—

Maintenance of Members of the Royal Family; Reform of Land Tenure; Representation of Labour in Parliament; The Condition of the Agricultural Labourer; Improved Dwellings for the Labouring Classes; Diminution in the Hours of Work; Playgrounds for the Recreation of the People; Technical and Industrial Education for Artisans; State-aid to Emigration; Reduction in our National Expenditure; and others.

I am, yours obediently,

GEORGE POTTER.

10, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

THE LICENSING BILL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Mr. Disraeli tells us in "Lothair" of the statesmen who have been degraded into politicians. Mr. Bruce may not be one of these, but his Licensing Bill seems framed more to conciliate the various noisy interests that confront him than to legislate boldly. The enormous difficulty of touching the subject at all would perhaps be his apology.

The friends of the Alliance are conciliated by a popular veto clause. Parliament is to fix a maximum proportion of public-houses to population. The magistrates of each district are then to say how many public-houses they think necessary. If the magistrates propose to exceed the Parliamentary limit, the ratepayers are to be called in and asked whether they shall do so. Was there ever a more roundabout way of arriving at a plain result? I cannot understand why, if Parliament fixes a maximum—and it is sure to be a high one—this should ever be exceeded. The publicans may safely be left to fall below it if they like, while, if it is imperative that seaside places, &c., should exceed the maximum, the prerogative of the Home Secretary might be allowed to have play. An imperial limit thus fixed, the work of magistrates and ratepayers on this point would be done for them, and much of the cumbrous machinery of the Bill would disappear.

The great brewers appear to be conciliated by the proposal to sell licences to the highest bidder. This, with its acknowledged effect of putting the property more directly into their hands, is a most serious thing. All good citizens have long since noticed with dismay the enormous political power of the brewers. And I think, before we consolidate and organise this power by Act of Parliament, it ought to be shown that we do it for a national purpose, which has not been done by Mr. Bruce.

The beershops are not to be abolished, unless Mr. Bruce thinks the adulteration clause will do the work quietly, as perhaps it may. But I think these pests should have their days distinctly numbered by a provision that no new licenses shall be issued, the present ones being held during the lifetime of their possessors.

Passing over the clauses which everyone thinks good, and the ten years' leave of life which is generally thought too long, I should like before closing to make a protest.

If ever there was a subject to which the permissive principle is not to be applied, it is surely the regulation of the drink traffic in England in 1871. The School Board elections have shown us that it was bad enough to leave the conflict of opinion on education to be fought out by the towns and parishes. But here you have the mighty interests of money and beer arrayed against the interests of public order and sobriety. Some of us know what the clergy did to keep the catechism in the schools; what would not the publicans do in every town and village to keep their trade from diminution? The debasing character of the contest that would go on can hardly be realised, and every friend of temperance and order will pray that it may never occur. The enormous strength of the publicans, pulling as it now does in the opposite direction to the national welfare, can only be tamed and controlled by the strong hand of an Imperial Parliament, legislating for every parish in the country alike. The scrap from the Permissive Bill which Mr. Bruce has borrowed has, in addition, the objectionable feature, which Mr. Bright has so frequently denounced, of referring a special question to the whole body of citizens, instead of giving expression to the popular will in a calm and continuous manner through representatives. Do we not talk of the grand discovery of representative government? But with such limited and incidental power as Mr. Bruce gives to the inhabitants, it would not be worth while to elect a board. Why did he not give their representatives a seat by the side of the magistrates on a licensing board for each district, with full powers and no appeal from them? The election of such a board would no doubt cause a fight in every parish, but it need only come once in three years, and would not be half so angry as one on the direct question, "How many public-houses shall we have?"

Permissive legislation works very smoothly at Westminster, but it belongs to the politics of a degenerate age, and is often, as Mr. Fawcett has said, a very lazy and unstatesmanlike way of shirking the responsibility. Such it would certainly be in the case of the drink traffic.

The publicans have, as a man, risen to defeat the Bill. This was natural, because the best way in which legislation can now stop drunkeness is by diminishing the number of public-houses, and publicans are merely human in trying to save all they can. The legislation and the magisterial policy of the last forty years has permitted their trade to grow out of all proportion to the needs of society. These facilities of abnormal increase have been offered to the publicans by the nation, and the publicans are certainly not to blame for accepting them. But now society sees its error, and is about to cut down their trade within the limits it thinks best for its own good. It must in justice do this either by a very slow process, or by a sudden process with fair compensation. Mr. Bruce chooses the first course, but is not the great end of diminishing drunkenness worth the cost of the second?

The publicans, I have said, show a united front. It would be well if they had as compact an array against them. May we not at this moment appeal to all who recognise our national sin of drunkenness and excessive drinking to lay aside their crotchets, and unite for practical action? There is not a member of Parliament but is now being coaxed and threatened into opposing the Bill. *Our* forces are disunited and weak. The opportunity of licensing reform will not occur again for years.

I am, Sir, truly yours,

J. S. CURWEN.

Upton, E., April 22, 1871.

Mr. Henry Kingsley, after an experience of a year and a half, has retired from the editorship of the *Edinburgh Daily Review*.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Thursday the House of Lords reassembled after the holidays, and sat for twenty minutes. Lord REDESDALE, who was cordially greeted, thanked their lordships for their indulgence to him during his illness. In reply to the Duke of Richmond, Lord GRANVILLE said he could not confirm the statement in the *Times* as to the Anglo-American Commission. The Commissioners had very wisely resolved to keep the negotiations secret, and he could only say that he had no reason whatever to complain of the spirit in which they had been carried on.

On Friday the House sat for twenty minutes, during which the Mutiny Bill was passed.

On Monday night, the Earl of KIMBERLEY moved for the communication to their lordships of the Report of the Westmeath Committee, and the evidence taken before it; and gave notice that he shall on Thursday evening present a bill for giving more security within certain local limits in Ireland against crime and outrage in connection with secret societies. The scheme of the Public Schools Commissioners for the reorganisation of Emanuel Hospital, was assailed by the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Buckhurst, and Lord Carnarvon; and was defended by Lord Halifax, Lord Lyttelton, and the Bishop of Exeter; but the conversation was productive of no result. The bill disqualifying bankrupt peers from sitting in the House of Lords, and the Promissory Oaths Bill, were read a second time; and the County Property Bill was passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Wednesday Mr. LAMBERT brought in a bill for introducing into Ireland the Scotch rule allowing a majority of the jury to return a verdict in criminal cases. Mr. Lambert advocated his proposal on the ground that it would strengthen the hands of justice by facilitating convictions in Ireland. The SOLICITOR-GENERAL for Ireland, while favourable to a general revision and assimilation of the jury laws of the three kingdoms, objected to piecemeal legislation by private members on such a subject. The matter should be dealt with as a whole and on the responsibility of the Government. The bill was eventually withdrawn.

The Game Laws next came up for discussion. Mr. P. A. TAYLOR moved the second reading of his bill for the abolition of the Game Laws, arguing that this was the only way to prevent over preservation on the one hand, and to check poaching on the other. When compared with our Game Law system, the grossest and most abject form of Communism rose to the level of a well-considered scheme of politics. It was a disgrace to our civilisation. Mr. HARDCASTLE, in moving the rejection of the bill, expressed an opinion that the proper solution of the difficulty was to make game the property of the occupier and to rate it accordingly. After a short discussion, Mr. WINTERBOTHAM (speaking for the Government in the absence of Ministers at a Cabinet) remarked that we could not change the moral sense of the people by changing the laws. Laws had to be made in accordance with the moral sense of the people. If landlords did not recognise game as property as between themselves, how could it be expected that the poorer classes would recognise it as the property of a class? The measure of the Government, although a step in the right direction, did not go far enough; and it was the duty of the Government further to consider the question, especially as to the bearing of the law upon the morals of the people. After some further discussion, the bill was rejected by 172 to 49.

Mr. M'LAGAN moved the second reading of his Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment (No 2) Bill, but on a division the debate was adjourned by 106 to 37 votes.

On Thursday Mr. GOSCHEN said he feared there was no chance of the second reading of the Local Taxation and Government Bills being taken on the 1st of May, and he could not say when they would come on. Mr. BRUCE gave a similar answer in regard to the Prison Ministers Bill, and Mr. GLADSTONE said the pressure of business had prevented him from consulting the Cabinet on the report of the Committee on Parliamentary Procedure.

THE BUDGET.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER then explained his Budget to a crowded assembly. He began by congratulating the country on the sound and wonderfully elastic condition of the revenue, which had enabled it to emerge from the recent stupendous events with an increase of actual over-estimated revenue for the year of 2,311,000*l.*, instead of a deficiency, as might naturally have been expected. Addressing himself, first, to the usual financial retrospect, he pointed out that though since 1868 the revenue receipts had only been diminished by 2,600,000*l.*, taxes to the amount of 8,600,000*l.* had been taken off during that period, and he went on to institute a detailed comparison between his estimate of the revenue in the last Budget and its actual yield. In the Customs and Excise there is hardly an item which does not show an increase. The revenue from tea has increased by 592,000*l.*, wine by 108,000*l.*, and the revenue from malt and spirits has never been so large, showing an increase of 431,000*l.* and 481,000*l.* respectively. The only items of the revenue which have fallen below the estimate are taxes, Post-office, and Telegraphic Service. A similar comparison of actual and estimated expenditure showed a total excess of 62,000*l.*, which occurs chiefly in the Army and Navy votes and the Telegraphic Services. The general result was that the actual revenue of last year amounted to 69,945,000*l.*, while the expenditure was 69,543,000*l.* (including 1,350,000*l.* of the vote of credit for the European war), leaving a surplus of 397,000*l.* Mr. Lowe concluded his retrospect by a statement of the condition of the Exchequer balances, and an explanation of a scheme for converting the Chancery funds into terminable annuities, by which he expected to obtain a formidable instrument for the reduction of debt. He showed, too, by a statement of the position of the debt in various years that since 1868 we have reduced the debt by 10,468,728*l.* Turning to the future, which he said offered by no means so agreeable a prospect as the past, he thus stated the expenditure for the coming year:—

Interest of Debt	£26,910,000
Other Consolidated Fund Charges	1,820,000
Army (including abolition of purchase)	16,452,000
Navy	9,756,000
Civil Service	10,726,000
Revenue Departments	5,076,000
Packet Service	1,148,000
Telegraphs	420,000
Total Expenditure ...	£72,308,000

This shows an increase on last year of 3,487,000*l.* on the army (this statement was received with a long-drawn moan by the gentlemen below the gangway), 386,000*l.* on the Navy, and 420,000*l.* on the Civil Service Estimates, the total net increase of expenditure for the year being 2,432,000*l.* With regard to the Civil Service Estimates, Mr. Lowe pointed out various causes which had contributed to swell them, such as the Education vote, the expenses of the Census, &c. Passing to the revenue for the coming year, allowing for all causes likely to affect it, he did not think it safe to estimate it at more than 69,595,000*l.*, which is a falling-off from last year of 350,000*l.*, and, compared with the expenditure, left the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a deficiency of 2,713,000*l.* to meet. This unpleasant task was the result of having to undertake a war expenditure at a time when we did not fear a breach of the peace. But though he did not feel himself called on now to discuss the policy which had led to this, Mr. Lowe remarked that, looked at purely from a financial point of view, the security given to our credit and property by placing the country in a condition which all the world would recognise as impregnable, was worth any sacrifice. Before stating his proposals, he examined in detail the various suggestions which had been offered to him, condemning emphatically the notion of borrowing. The first proposal which he made for meeting the deficiency was a rectification of the Probate, Legacy, and Succession Duties. The technical distinctions between the probate duties payable on foreign property and by Englishmen domiciled abroad are abolished, and all personal property is placed on a scale roughly stated at 2 per cent., by which 100,000*l.* revenue will be gained; and the scales of legacy and succession duties are to be revised by making lineal descendants pay 2 per cent., and brothers 3¼ per cent. By this means he expected to obtain 630,000*l.* from personalty, and 290,000*l.* from realty, though only 300,000*l* will come into this year's accounts. Next he announced that he had borrowed a fiscal novelty from the United States—viz., a tax on matches, on the advantages of which he dilated in a humorous vein. There is to be a duty of a halfpenny on each box of one hundred matches, and a penny on aristocratic wax lights and fusees. Of the first he stated that there are 560,000,000 boxes manufactured yearly, and of the latter 45,000,000, and he calculated the tax would produce 550,000*l.* This left Mr. Lowe with 1,950,000*l.* to provide, in order to be left with a fair margin, and that he stated at once he meant to raise by the income-tax. But as a penny in the pound now produced a million and a half, an increase of a penny would be too little, and twopence would give him more than he wanted. He proposed, therefore, to hit the medium by changing the mode of assessing the tax, converting the present poundage into a percentage. The tax for the coming year, instead of being 4d. in the pound, or 1*l.* 13s. 4d. on the 100*l.*, as now, would be 2*l.* 4s. on the 100*l.*, or 2 1-5 per cent., and this he calculated would give him 1,950,000*l.* Adding this to the 300,000*l.* probate duties and 550,000*l.* match-tax, gives a total of 2,800,000*l.* additional taxes for the year. The revenue for the year after these additions will stand thus:—

Customs	£20,100,000
Excise	22,420,000
Stamps	9,600,000
Taxes	2,330,000
Income-tax	8,050,000
Post Office	4,670,000
Telegraphs	750,000
Crown Lands	375,000
Miscellaneous	4,100,000
Total revenue ...	£72,395,000

And subtracting from this the estimated expenditure, 72,308,000*l.*, a surplus for the year is left of 87,000*l.*

The general tone of the discussion was not favourable to Mr. Lowe's proposals, exception being especially taken to the alteration in the income-tax and the new match tax. On the resolution in regard to the latter being moved, Mr. Dixon divided the House against it, but was defeated by 201 to 44.

PRAYER-BOOK (TABLES OF LESSONS) BILL.

On the order of the day for going into committee upon this bill,

Mr. J. D. LEWIS asked why these Tables of Lessons should not be made permissive and clergymen of the Church of England allowed to read such portions of the Scripture as they thought most suitable. This liberty was possessed by the Anglican clergyman in a great measure at the time of the Reformation, and it was not till 140 years afterwards that he was bound by the iron rule now existing. It was said that the clergy desired fixed lessons. Let such persons, then, adopt either the old Table of Lessons or the new one. But he had received a pile of letters from clergymen in all parts of England, who told him not only that they wanted this liberty, but that some of them exercised it. (A laugh.) The liberty he now asked for the clergy of the Established Church was possessed, without exception, by Dissenting ministers, by the ministers of the Established Church in Scotland, and by those of the Free Kirk. He proposed, as an amendment, the following resolution:—

> That, in the opinion of this House, no change in the law with regard to the reading of Holy Scripture in the Church of England is desirable which withholds from the officiating clergyman the power of reading such portions of the Old and New Testament at morning and evening prayer as to him may seem most suitable.

Mr. RYLANDS seconded the amendment, as he desired for the ministers of the Church of England the same liberty in this matter as the Nonconformist clergymen possessed.

Mr. BRUCE said the bill was the result of the labours of the Royal Commission, and he did not believe that the amendment was in accordance with the wishes of the clergy or laity of the Church of England.

Mr. BUXTON trusted they were not to be told that nothing more was to be done to remove those difficulties which were felt by many persons in the Church. There were several other questions of very great importance which were left unsettled by the commission, with reference, for instance, to the burial of unbaptized infants, the reading of the Athanasian Creed, &c., which he thought ought to be settled by another commission.

Mr. GLADSTONE wished to call the attention of his hon. and learned friend to the position of the Government in regard to bills of this class, having been charged with them and responsible for them. They were not introducing measures simply concocted in their own brain, adopted to their own view, and laid before the House on their own credit and authority, and the House would at once see—when they considered the general state of public business, how they were overcharged with measures of wide and universal importance—that they had far more on their hands of these ecclesiastical bills than they could get through this session if they were not to be disposed of without lengthened debate. Therefore, it was impossible on this amendment to go into a discussion which affected the very foundation on which the Church of England had proceeded for centuries. (Hear, hear.) His hon. and learned friend asked them to give what was not desired by the laity; for he had not said that a single layman was anxious for it. He had got one clergyman who was favourable to his motion—("Hear," and a laugh)—and that clergyman must be a Phœnix among the body. (Laughter.) He was only sorry so distinguished a man should have a perfect monopoly of such laudable liberality. (A laugh.) But it should be considered that it was not so much in their own opinion that they stood as on a general concurrence—first, of the Commissioners; secondly, of the House of Lords; thirdly, of the clergy assembled together, who were certainly entitled to be heard on the matter—(Hear)—and in the general concurrence of the public, who saw what a great improvement it was in their power to make, and which if they were disposed to make it, they must keep detached from those grounds which would lead to endless debate. (Hear, hear.) The bill did not propose to settle all the questions of interest which had been opened up; they must be left to be matured gradually in the public, including the clerical, mind. He trusted that the amendment would be withdrawn, and that the House would be allowed to go into committee.

Mr. DIXON pointed out that the hon. member for Devonport said he had received piles of letters, although he quoted only one. As a layman, he supported the resolution, because the bill allowed no latitude to a clergyman in the selection of lessons. If they were to adopt the bill without debate, the matter had better never be brought before the House. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MUNDELLA quoted a circular he had received from a clergyman, protesting against the bill on several grounds. He could not vote for the amendment, but he should like see the provisions of the bill made more elastic.

Mr. HUGHES would vote against the amendment, because the Church of England, being the broadest of all Churches, it was necessary to secure in each parish church a service in which all members could join.

Mr. CANDLISH said the discussion only showed the desirability of withdrawing the Church of England from Parliamentary interference, and fur-

nish ed an argument for disendowment and disestablish ment.

M r. HARDY pointed out that the clergy of the Chu rch of England were not the Church, and that it o ught not to be left to them to decide what its ser ices ought to be. He had heard a Nonconfor nist minister compare a set form of prayer to rea dy-made clothes, meant for everybody and for nob ody; but that minister's phraseology on prayer gr ated upon his ears and confirmed him in his pre fe ence for the ready-made clothes. To show the sp irit in which the House of Commons dealt with th e question in 1662, he quoted an entry from the jo urnal, which showed that the House was content with asserting its right to discuss, and then passing the amended Book of Common Prayer as received from Convocation without discussion. In this case both Convocations had approved of what was proposed, and how could any right of any Dissenters be invalidated by their following the precedent of 1662, and sanctioning without discussion a change in the internal government of the Church? If he were in the place of hon. members opposite, nonmembers of the Church, he should feel it to be his duty to withdraw from the discussion.

Mr. E. SMITH trusted the hon. member for Devonport would not press his motion to a division. As a member of the Church of England, he objected to conferring any further powers on the ministers of that Church. A case might occur where, if the parson had a quarrel with the squire about tithes, he might be continually reading lessons about Ananias and Sapphira. (Laughter.) The House of Commons ought to exercise a salutary control over the services of the National Church.

Mr. Alderman LUSK thought the House of Commons, which was composed of believers and unbelievers, should not attempt to lay down rules as to how people were to worship God. The House of Commons was not the Church of England, and it ought not to fix the lessons to be read on Sundays. (Hear.)

Mr. WHITE would vote with the hon. member for Devonport, because as teachers in schools belonging to the Church of England were allowed to read to their pupils such portions of the Scripture as they pleased, it would be unjust to deny the same privilege to the ministers of that Church. (Hear, hear.)

The House divided, with the following result—

For the amendment	...	...	41
Against it ...	...	...	195
Majority	...	...	... —154

The House then went into committee, but the chairman was immediately ordered to report progress.

The House adjourned at half-past twelve.

THE RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS.

On Friday, an interesting discussion on the Declaration of Paris was raised by Mr. BENTINCK, who moved the following resolution:—

The maintenance of British maritime rights being essential to the power, prosperity, and independence of the Empire, this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should forthwith withdraw from the articles of "The Declaration of Paris, 1856," which are numbered respectively 1 and 2, and which are expressed in the terms following:—1. Privateering is and remains abolished. 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

In making this proposal Mr. Bentinck urged that it would tend to regain the respect of Europe, and render unnecessary the expenditure we were now undertaking for military purposes. Mr. Serjeant SIMON seconded the motion.

Sir ROUNDELL PALMER said it was, perhaps, a question in 1856 whether the declaration was wise or prudent, but once it was agreed to, he could not see the practical use of making lamentations over it. The right to take an enemy's property out of neutral ships was an undoubted principle of international law, but its exercise on our part was attended with great inconvenience; it tended to produce irritation in neutrals, and to draw them into an alliance with our enemies. On the other hand, by agreeing to waive it we relinquished some means of annoying our enemies during war, and what, perhaps, was of more consequence, we increased the tendency of war to throw our carrying trade into the hands of neutrals. But it was all a question of degree. Whether it was worth while to make concessions for the sake of making friends of neutrals he would not say, but the thing had been done, and therefore the proper course for this country was to say, "We will in good faith adhere to the declaration of Paris; we won't review its policy or complain of its possible effects, but will go on with a good heart, and use all the powers left us for our security."

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said that the declaration, though not a treaty, was an engagement which had equal binding force, and we could not repudiate it without a flagrant breach of faith.

Mr. DISRAELI condemned the declaration as a most impolitic measure, calculated to cripple the power of this country. It was impossible that it could be upheld; but we must emancipate ourselves from its fatal trammels in a regular manner, such as would be approved by the public law and morality of Europe.

Mr. GLADSTONE maintained that, the recent Conference having been called for a specific object, we could not have invited Europe to reopen the whole of the treaty, deal with it as undone, and commence *de novo* the construction of a system of international obligations, without provoking a rebuff and making ourselves ridiculous. He agreed with Sir Roundell Palmer as to the impolicy of complaining of these concessions when we had no power to recede from them.

The motion was then withdrawn.

TAXATION OF CHARITIES.

Mr. A. JOHNSON, after relating some instances of flagrant abuses of charities, moved that "discontinuing the exemption of endowed charities from income-tax is the only method of carrying out the decision of this House against the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission out of public funds." Sir F. GOLDSMID argued that there was no connection between the abuses pointed out and the resolution.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that not only had these institutions their income-tax paid for them at the expense of the community, but they derived special benefits without paying anything for them, 18,000*l.* a year being placed in the estimates to maintain an establishment specially instituted to enable them to obtain law and justice more easily and on cheaper terms than others who, if they had wrongs to get redressed, were compelled to go into the Chancery Court. Under these circumstances, he had no difficulty in assenting to the substance of the motion; but instead of saying that discontinuance from exemption to the income-tax was the "only mode" of carrying out the decision of the House, which was not strictly true, because these institutions might be made to pay probate, legacy, and succession duties, he would prefer to say it was a suitable mode, or the best way of carrying out the decision of the House. Thus amended the resolution was agreed to.

A motion by Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE for a committee to inquire into the working of the Colonial Governors' Pensions Act was negatived, but Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, while opposing an inquiry, undertook on behalf of the Colonial Office that everything should be done to secure justice to retiring governors.

After a fruitless attempt to "count out," Mr. MACFIE and Mr. S. AYTOUN made some remarks on the defences of the Frith of Forth, and Sir H. STORKS stated that a plan had been prepared, though it could not, for financial reasons, be included in the estimates this year.

On the report of the Committee of Ways and Means the match-tax resolution was again opposed by Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Holms, and others, while Mr. D. Dalrymple, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Corrance supported it. Mr. Dixon's motion for an adjournment was defeated by 116 to 50; and the resolution itself carried by 113 to 51.

It was nearly two o'clock when the House adjourned.

THE BUDGET AND INCREASED TAXATION.

On Monday there was a large attendance of members at prayers, and, while the Speaker was absent in the House of Lords, there was a good deal of chat and bustle in the Lobby. After the right honourable gentleman's return, Mr. RYLANDS presented several petitions against the Matches Bill from "persons engaged in the manufacture and sale of matches," and their presentation was the signal for many cheers.

Mr. DIXON gave notice of his intention to move the rejection of the Matches Bill, and Mr. Alderman LAWRENCE gave notice that on the Income-Tax Resolutions he will move that it is inexpedient to change poundage for percentage.

On going into Committee of Ways and Means on the remaining Budget Resolutions,

Mr. WHITE moved the resolution of which he had given notice—that the additional taxation proposed will entail burdens on the people which are not justified by existing circumstances. He disclaimed earnestly all desire to treat this as a question of confidence. On the contrary, he put himself forward as the "candid friend" of the Government, warning them of the risk they ran of alienating and disgusting a large section of their most earnest supporters. In the first place, he argued that Mr. Lowe had greatly under-estimated the revenue of the coming year, and had taken no note of the revival of commercial and manufacturing industry, of the cheapness of corn, and of the condition of pauperism. Additional taxation, therefore, he concluded, was not needed. Next, he contended that the expenditure, the largest ever demanded in time of peace, might be very considerably reduced by economical administration, by a reform of the Horse Guards, stricter supervision of work done in the Navy, considerable reductions in the Civil Service, &c. Mr. White complained that the Budget was a contradiction of the celebrated Lancashire speeches, and a return to the bad "Palmerston times," and concluded by condemning the match-tax as the confiscation of a private industry.

Mr. RYLANDS, in seconding the resolution, entered into the history of former panics, maintaining that the large expenditure which had produced this "panic Budget" was attributable to the activity of the permanent spending officials.

Sir H. SELWIN-IBBETSON, in supporting the resolution, disclaimed all party motives, and all desire to embarrass the Government in putting the defences of the country in an efficient condition, but founded his opposition solely on his strong dislike to all the propositions of the Budget.

Mr. HOLMS dwelt on the objections to the Match-tax, showing that it would sweep away 230,000*l.* of wages, earned chiefly by women and girls.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER complained of the inconvenient mode in which the Budget was being attacked. A private individual must suit his expenditure to his income, but a great country must ascertain its requirements first, and then decide how it would meet them. This resolution meant that the Government should take its Estimates back, whereas the House had already voted a large increase in them. It was intelligible that Mr. White and his friends, who had all along objected to increased expenditure, should support such a motion, but it was inconsistent in the Conservatives to countenance it, when they had urged the Government to take measures for putting the defences of the country in a more efficient condition. These two divergent sections were about to arrive at the same conclusion on totally different grounds. Mr. Lowe vindicated the accuracy of his estimate of next year's revenue, pointing out that the increase of taxation must necessarily have a depressing effect on the consuming power of the community, and in defending his proposals he remarked that the common-place objections taken to his new taxes might be urged against any tax, and that it was not sufficient on such occasions to prove that a tax was bad, but something better must be suggested. The change in the scale of Legacy and Succession Duties, he maintained, was moderate and reasonable; and as to the Income-tax, knowing how heavily it fell on persons with limited means, his chief anxiety had been to make the tax fall as lightly as possible. Defending the Match-tax, he urged that it was on a commodity which was produced for next to nothing, and that there was nothing to be said against the tax which could not be said against all taxes on commodities. New taxes he must have, and the difficulty was to find one which was not open to the same criticism.

Mr. GILPIN expressed deep dissatisfaction with the Budget, and called on the Government to withdraw it; and Mr. GOLDNEY maintained that those who objected to the policy of the Budget, but not increase to the expenditure, might vote for the resolution without inconsistency.

Mr. GRAVES repudiated all party motives for the strong condemnation which he passed on the Budget as a retrograde step and an unfortunate interference with trade and industry. He strongly urged the Government to withdraw the Budget.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT opposed the Match Tax, as interfering with a trade which gave employment to a large number of women, and predicted that the increase in the Legacy Duty and the new mode of assessing the Income Tax would create great hardship. He declaimed against the increased expenditure, suggested a special tax on fortunes above 20,000*l.*, and made some severe remarks on the "tender mercies of an economical Government."

Mr. LIDDELL, who had also given notice of a motion which he was unable to move, discussed the Budget in connection with the Army Bill, concluding that the object to be attained was not worth the additional taxation proposed. He supported the resolution as the best means of bringing about the withdrawal of the Budget.

Mr. CRAWFORD argued against the match-tax, and thought Mr. Lowe might have avoided all opposition by a penny additional income-tax. He also was in favour of the Budget being withdrawn; but as to the resolution, holding that the House had already sanctioned the additional expenditure, he could not vote for it.

Mr. CROSS, in supporting the resolution, had no wish to drive the Government from office, but only desired to induce them to take back their Budget.

Mr. FAWCETT maintained that the additional taxation was not needed, and, if it were, Mr. Lowe had chosen the most objectionable means of raising it.

Mr. DISRAELI pointed out that the amount of our liability was not covered by the figures of two millions stated by Mr. Lowe, for the cost of the Army Bill and the transfer of the House-tax to the local authorities must be taken into the estimate. He calculated that, on the whole, we should have a five millions deficit to deal with. Of the ways and means proposed to meet this he disapproved in every particular. The Match-tax he characterised as an extremely injudicious proposal. To the alterations in the Succession Duties he objected that they were of a permanent character, and ought not to be brought into requisition for what were called transition estimates, particularly when they would bring in any usufruct within the year. The result of the change in the Income-tax would be that none would know what they had to pay, and he specially objected to it being made for the purpose of abolishing the Purchase System. Though not objecting to a consideration of this abolition under favourable circumstances, in the present financial crisis he held that it was not the duty of the House to proceed with a scheme which certainly would keep for another year. There was nothing in his resolution inconsistent with the general views of the Opposition, and, as they would have no other opportunity of expressing their opinion on the general policy of the Budget, he intended to vote for it. But he hoped it would be unnecessary to divide, and that the Government, in deference to the unanimous representations of its own supporters, would withdraw or adjourn the Budget; and he promised for the Opposition that by no cheer or murmur would they claim a share in the triumph.

Mr. GLADSTONE took exception to Mr. Disraeli's doctrine, and maintained that there was no instance of a Budget having been taken back and radically remodelled. But he did not wish to put this contention too high; in the details of a Budget, not vitally affecting its policy, there must always be room for consideration, particularly in the case of an entirely new tax, like the Match-tax. As to the proposed alternative of abandoning the abolition of purchase, Mr. Gladstone expressed himself very

decidedly, and insistad that if 600,000*l.* must be saved, it would be better to save it on some other item. In the same way he examined and rejected other alternatives which had been suggested, such as an increase in the Tea and Sugar Duties, and vindicated the economical achievements of the Government. As to the motion, Mr. White, though unconsciously, had drawn it most astutely, so that two sets of people utterly discordant in their opinions might agree to support it by putting diametrically opposite constructions upon it. Assuming Mr. White and his friends to mean by it that there should be no increase of expenditure, he pointed out that the House had already decided against them on the motions of Colonel Lindsay, Mr. Mundella, and Mr. Leatham, and could not now draw back.

After some observations from Colonel Lindsay, the House divided, and the resolution was negatived by a majority of 27—257 to 230.

The other orders were disposed of, and the House adjourned at one o'clock.

DEATH.

RANDALL.—April 23, at Guernsey, Mary Ann, wife of the Rev. U. B. Randall, M.A., aged 34.

Holloway's Pills.—Excellent Pills.—The resources of medicine and chemistry were long and fruitlessly tried before they yielded a remedy which could overcome disorders of the stomach and nerves, till Professor Holloway discovered his purifying and tonic Pills. They are the safest and surest correctives of indigestion, heartburn, flatulency, torpidity of the liver, twitchings, nervous fancies, despondency, low spirits, and declining strength. Holloway's Pills supersede all irregular action in the body, and so strengthen and support the system that disease departs, and leaves the patient not at all shaken. This is the grand aim and object of medical art, to regulate disordered functions without damaging the constitution by the remedy; and admirably is this end attained by Holloway's Pills.

Pains in the Limbs.—Influenza and Rheumatism.—Barclay's (Dr. Bateman's) Pectoral Drops are held in high estimation, curing pains in the limbs and joints, inducing gentle perspiration, and preventing fever. Can be obtained of Barclay and Sons, 95, Farringdon-street, and all respectable druggists and dealers in patent medicines, in bottles, at 1s. 1½d. and 2s. 9d. each. Ask for Barclay's (Dr. Bateman's) Drops, and observe names and address (95, Farringdon-street) affixed to each bottle.

Kinahan's LL Whisky.—This celebrated and most delicious old mellow spirit is the very cream of Irish Whiskies, in quality unrivalled, perfectly pure, and more wholesome than the finest Cognac Brandy. Note the words "Kinahan's LL Whisky" on seal, label, and cork. Wholesale Depot, 6A, Great Titchfield-street, Oxford-street, W.

Advertisements.

BRITISH and FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING will be held at EXETER HALL, in the STRAND, LONDON, on Wednesday, the 3rd of May, at Eleven o'clock precisely.

The Right Hon. the EARL of SHAFTESBURY, K.G., in the Chair.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol; Rev. Dr. Wilson, from Bombay; Rev. Robert Moffat, from Africa; Rev. Emilius Bayley; and the Rev. G. T. Perks, have engaged to speak on the occasion.

Tickets of Admission may be obtained upon application at the Society's House, Blackfriars, where attendance will be given for the purpose from Wednesday, April 26th, to Tuesday, May 2nd, between the hours of Twelve and Four; on Saturday, April 29th, from Ten to Two.

On Sunday, April 30th, a SERMON will be preached in the English Presbyterian Church, Regent-square, by the Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, M.A. Service will commence at Eleven o'clock a.m.

On the evening of the same day, a SERMON will be preached in Westminster Abbey, by the Right Rev. Bishop Ryan. Service will commence at Seven o'clock.

CHARLES JACKSON, } Secretaries.
SAMUEL B. BERGNE, }

BRITISH SOCIETY for the PROPAGATION of the GOSPEL among the JEWS.

On Monday, May 8th, the TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING will take place in ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LANGHAM-PLACE, REGENT-STREET, at Two o'clock in the afternoon.

Sermons will be preached at Twelve o'clock at noon, on Monday, May 15th, in the Poultry Chapel, by the Rev. J. A. Macfadyen, M.A., of Manchester; and at Half-past Seven o'clock in the evening of Monday, May 22nd, at Trinity Church, Marylebone, close to the Portland-road Station, by the Rev. John G. Gregory, M.A., of Park Chapel, Chelsea.

Tickets for the Annual Meeting may be obtained of Messrs. John Snow and Co., 2, Ivy-lane, Paternoster-row; of the Secretaries of Associations; at the Society's Rooms, 96, Great Russell-street; and at St. George's Hall.

COLONIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the COLONIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY will be held in WEIGH-HOUSE CHAPEL, FISH-STREET-HILL, on Thursday, May 11th.

Chairman—the Rev. T. BINNEY.

Speakers—The Revs. Henry Allon, W. R. Fletcher, M.A., Melbourne, Australia; W. Braden, J. Morlais Jones, and Franklin Allport, Esq.

The chair will be taken at Half-past Six p.m.

ALEXANDER HANNAY, Secretary.

April 25th, 1871.

EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL SOCIETY.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of this Society will be held in Finsbury Chapel, May 10th. The Chair to be taken by H. Richard, Esq., M.P., at half-past six o'clock p.m.

WESLEYAN MISSION to CHINA.

The ANNUAL BREAKFAST MEETING in Aid of the Society's Mission to China will be held on Saturday, April 29th, at the City Terminus Hotel, Cannon-street Station, at Nine o'clock. The Chair to be taken by James S. Sutcliffe, Esq., of Bacup.

PASTORS' RETIRING FUND.

The TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING of the Pastors' Retiring Fund will be held at the Congregational Rooms, South-street, Finsbury, on WEDNESDAY, May 10th, 1871, when the Chair will be taken by J. KEMP WELCH, Esq., at Four o'clock p.m.

April 24th, 1871. R. FERGUSON.

THE SEVENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

Sermons will be preached at the Congregational Church, Clapham, by the Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A., on Sunday Morning, April 30th; and in the Evening of the same day, at St. Saviour's, Southwark, by the Rev. W. Curling, M.A.

The Public Meeting will be held on Friday Evening, May 5th, at Exeter Hall, at half-past Six o'clock. The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon has kindly consented to preside, and the following gentlemen have promised to take part: The Rev. Canon Miller, D.D., Vicar of Greenwich; the Rev. Dr. Craig, of Hamburg, the Society's representative in Germany; the Rev. D. Sanderson, President of the Wesleyan College, Richmond, Surrey; the Rev. R. D. Wilson, Pastor of Craven Chapel; and John MacGregor, Esq. ("Rob Roy").

Much interesting information will be given as to the Society's operations amongst the German and French armies, hospitals, and prisoners, and other departments of Christian effort.

Tickets for the Public Meeting may be had on and after the 20th April, at the Depositories, 56, Paternoster Row; 65, St. Paul's Churchyard, and 164, Piccadilly; and of Mr. B. Seeley, Islington Green.

A copy of the Catalogues of either the English or Foreign Publications may be had on application at the Depositories.

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

ANNIVERSARY SERMONS in AID of the SOCIETY'S FUNDS will be preached as follows:—

To-morrow morning, April 27th, at 11 o'clock, in the Large Room of the Centenary Hall, Bishopsgate-street Within, by the Rev. John Farrar, President of the Conference, and on Friday morning, April 28th, at 11 o'clock, in Great Queen-street Chapel, Lincoln's-inn-fields, by the Rev. Alexander M'Laren, M.A., of Manchester.

And on Sunday, April 30th, at City-road, 10.30, Rev. John Farrar, President of the Conference; 6.30, Rev. E. E. Jenkins, of Southport. Liverpool-road, 10.30, Rev. Samuel Coley; 6.30, Rev. John H. Beech, of Hull. Highbury, 11, Rev. John H. Beech; 6.30, Rev. Samuel Coley. Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, 10.45, Rev. William Guard Price, of Dublin; 3, Rev. W. O. Simpson, Sermon to the Young; 6.30, by the Rev. John Walton. Hinde-street, Manchester-square, 11, Rev. J. A. Macdonald; 6.30, Rev. William Guard Price. Denbigh-road, Bayswater, 11, Rev. W. J. Tweddle; 6.30, Rev. George T. Morrison. Sloane-terrace, Chelsea, 11, Rev. George Bowden; 6.30, Rev. James A. Macdonald. Long-lane, Southwark, 10.30, Rev. Nicholas Bishop, M.A.; 6.30, Rev. Edward Nye, of Leicester. China-terrace, Lambeth, 10.30, Rev. Dr. Osborn; 6.30, Rev. W. Jackson, of Didsbury. Brixton-hill, 10.45, Rev. William Jackson; 6.30, Rev. Dr. Osborn.

HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING of this Society will be held (D.V.) on Tuesday Evening, May 9th, in Finsbury Chapel. SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P., Treasurer of the Society, will take the chair at Seven o'clock.

The Right Hon. Earl of Shaftesbury; Count Andrew Bernstorff; Rev. Ll. D. Bevan, LL.B., of Tottenham Court-road Chapel; Rev. W. Braden, of the Weighhouse Chapel; Rev. Donald Fraser, of Marylebone Presbyterian Church; Rev. E. Paxton Hood, of Brighton; and Rev. Dr. Raleigh, of Canonbury, have engaged to take part in the proceedings.

THE LICENSING BILL and the DISESTABLISHMENT of the CHURCH.

At the Annual Assembly of the Ministers and Delegates of the Churches forming the Congregational Union of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, held in Zion Chapel, Bristol, on Wednesday and Thursday the 19th and 20th of April instant, and which was very numerously attended, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

The Licensing Bill—

"That this Union deeply impressed with the manifold evils of intemperance, and regarding the present condition of the Licensing System as one prevalent source of intemperance, heartily rejoices that Her Majesty's Government has introduced a Bill for the amendment of that system; and while strongly deprecating the proposed delay in the full operation of the Act for so long a period, commends the Bill generally to the earnest support of the Members who represent the Counties of Gloucester and Hereford, and the Boroughs of those counties in Parliament,"

Disestablishment and Disendowment—

"That this Union hails with great satisfaction the prospect of a discussion in the House of Commons of the expediency of extending to England and Scotland the policy of Disestablishment and Disendowment lately inaugurated in Ireland; and it offers to Edward Miall, Esq., M.P., its hearty congratulations and thanks for his courageous and well-timed determination to call the attention of the British Legislature to this great question."

GEORGE WOOD, B.A., Chairman.
EDWIN J. HARTLAND, Hon. Secretary.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.

The ANNUAL MEETING will be held in EXETER HALL, on Monday Evening, 1st May.

EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M.P., will take the chair at Half-past Six p.m. Tickets at the Office, 337, Strand.

LONDON.—SHIRLEY'S TEMPERANCE HOTEL, 37, Queen's-square, Bloomsbury, W.C. Beds, from 1s. 6d. Plain Breakfast or Tea, 1s. 3d.

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Second Master—

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Assistant Masters—

A. H. SCOTT WHITE, Esq., B.A., Priseman in Anglo-Saxon and Early English of Univ. Coll., London.

JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Esq., F.E.I.S., Member of the Council of the Philological Society, one of the Editors of the Publications of the Early English Text Society, Author of "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," &c., &c.

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NOTICE.—The SECOND TERM will commence on Thursday, 4th May.

For Prospectuses and further information apply to the Head Master, at the School, or to the Secretary, the Rev. R. H. MARTEN, B.A., Lee, S.E.

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Mr. COOKE BAINES, Surveyor and Valuer, begs to INFORM his Friends that he has REMOVED from 106, Cheapside, to No. 26, FINSBURY-PLACE, MOORGATE-STREET, E.C., where all future communications are requested to be addressed.

January, 1871.

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